Malik's Move—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE *Nation*

June 30, 1951

Dangerous Dosage

Hucksters, Laxatives, and Your Health

BY LEONARD ENGEL

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Not So Deep in the Heart of Texas

BY JOHN McCULLY

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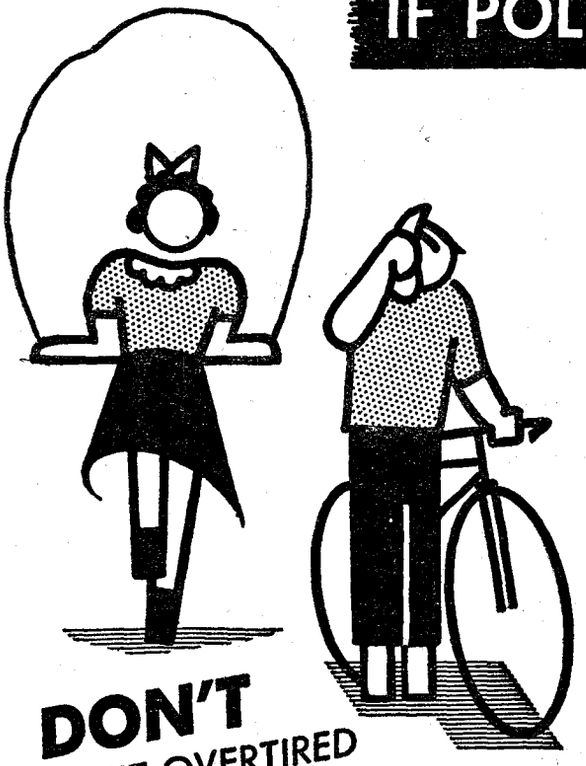

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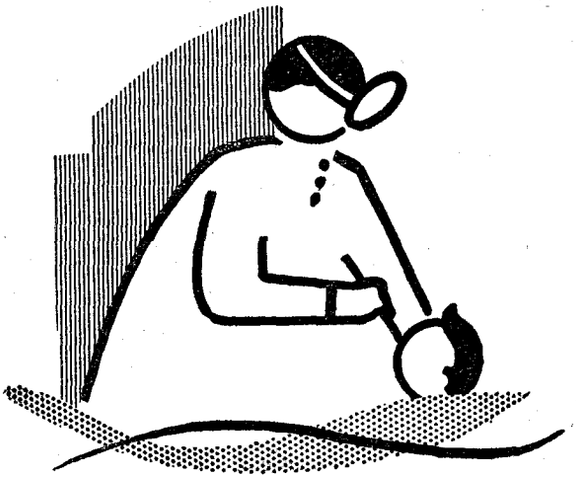

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 30, 1951 NUMBER 26

The Shape of Things

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S SOMEWHAT PETTISH refusal to reappear before the Russell committee made it possible for Senator Russell to adjourn his coroner's jury, which had sat for seven weeks in preposterous post-mortem over what happened at Yalta and why Chiang Kai-shek fell. Now work on a report can begin. MacArthur, who has become something of a forgotten man, complained that disclosure of Mr. Truman's part in his ouster had been prevented by Presidential order. This reference to the refusal of General Bradley and other witnesses to reveal private conversations with the President is scarcely pertinent, since Mr. Truman has made it perfectly clear that he himself decided on the removal. When Patrick J. Hurley took the witness stand to tell fantastic tales about what he believed the late President Roosevelt finally decided about the Yalta agreements, MacArthur was not even mentioned in the committee room. In all probability, the long hearings have had little influence on the twenty-six Senators who participated. Knowland and Hickenlooper undoubtedly still suspect that Dean Acheson, rather than Chiang's own ineptness, was responsible for the collapse of the Nationalists; and presumably whatever report they file will reflect this view. Sparkman and several others have suggested that they will criticize the "manner" in which MacArthur was fired. It may still be hoped that a substantial bi-partisan majority will reaffirm categorically the doctrine of civilian authority which Mr. Truman was forced to apply.

✶

INDO-CHINA RESEMBLES KOREA IN MANY OF its aspects, and just as the first anniversary of the Korean war has provided the American people with a disturbing reminder of what a "police action" may amount to, so developments in the French-Vietminh fighting have jolted French complacency. Instead of breaking and running as they had been doing in recent months, the Vietminh forces are now making a stand along the inner edges of the abrupt mountains southwest of Hanoi, and increasingly bloody encounters are taking place. The battle for the rice lands has started. The Vietminhese are trying hard to maneuver themselves into a position from which they can capture a considerable part of this summer's rice harvest in the deltas. The French have countered by bombing Vietminh-held villages west of the Phuly-Ninhbinh line to seal off all the places through which the rice might be smuggled. Here we have another analogy with Korea: if Seoul is only a pile of ruins, the important village of Ninhbinh which fell into the hands of the Vietminh on the third day of their offensive retains little more than its name—almost every building has disappeared under the rain of bombs. As in Korea, first the Vietminhese advance, next time it is the French who succeed in pushing back the enemy. It is a war without end, and recently there has been some talk in official circles of using the "General-Diplomat" Catroux to try to find a way out of a situation which as in Korea seems to be impossible to solve by purely military means.

✶

A LITTLE MORE THAN FOUR WEEKS AGO Hessell Tiltman, writing from Japan (see Japan's Peace Treaty, *Nation,* June 2), predicted that after the signing of the peace treaty drafted by John Foster Dulles the Japanese could "be relied upon to reverse all [of the occupation-sponsored democratic reforms] that can be reversed without an international outcry." This forecast is rapidly becoming an accomplished fact—and well in advance of the formal promulgation of a peace pact. Last week Premier Yoshida's Cabinet "depurged" some 70,000 men hitherto barred from public life because of their association with the militarist regime of war-time Japan. Still on the black list are about 80,000 persons who belonged to the ultra-nationalist elite, but the Premier's subsequent announcement that the national police force would be expanded from its present strength of 75,000 men to an estimated 500,000 troops should give hope to those still cast into darkness. For an army of half a million men requires senior commanders, and where would it be more logical to look for them than among the top-ranking officers who were purged? Now that England and France have allowed last week's mass restoration of respectability to pass without protest, it is hardly likely that we shall witness that "international outcry" which Mr. Tiltman warned would be the only factor that might deter Japan from resuming the road to imperial glory.

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 597
Membership Is Obsolete 598
Malik's Move *by Freda Kirchwey* 599

ARTICLES

Bonanza, Unlimited *by Willard Shelton* 601
Europe After the Elections *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 602
California: There She Goes! *by John Beecher* 603
Not So Deep in the Heart of Texas *by John McCully* 605
De Gasperi's Grim Future *by Mario Rossi* 607
Dangerous Dosage *by Leonard Engel* 609
Partners in Reaction *by Fritz Sternberg* 611

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Japan: Has the Occupation Failed? *by George Sansom* 614
More Rebel Than Radical *by H. H. Wilson* 615
On a Certain Engagement South of Seoul *A Poem by Hayden Carruth* 616
Soviet Purges and Prisons *by Warren B. Walsh* 616
People and History *by Lloyd Frankenberg* 618
Philosophies Old and New *by Justus Buchler* 619
Drama Note *by M. M.* 620
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 620
Films *by Manny Farber* 622

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 623

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 419 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 624

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

IT WAS NOT A NOVEL EXPERIENCE FOR DR. Percy L. Julian when he was named "Chicagoan of the Year" in 1949 by the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Chicago *Sun Times* for his important research on cortisone. Over the years this distinguished Negro scientist has received quite a collection of awards of all types and from men of all races, colors, and creeds; even in the deep South a public school has been named in his honor. But last week while Dr. Julian was on his way to Baltimore to attend the funeral of his father he received, in absentia, a sinister "award" from some fellow-Chicagoans. For the second time a dynamite bomb was tossed at his home in proper, "lily-white" Oak Park. This is the sort of crime, as the Chicago *Tribune* has sharply reminded the authorities, that any good police force should be able to solve without too much trouble —given the will, that is, to solve the crime. Since Dr. Julian also received a threatening letter through the mails—"You and your family will be killed if you don't move"—the federal authorities will now conduct an investigation.

Membership Is Obsolete

THE indictment of twenty-one Communist Party leaders for criminal conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence underscores the basic dangers in the Supreme Court's decision upholding the Smith act. From this decision it is quite impossible to determine what types of political activity fall within the Chief Justice's definition of unlawful advocacy. It is necessary, of course, for the Attorney General to prove in each case that the persons indicted sought to overthrow the government by force and violence, but this has now become more a matter of ritual than of proof. And he must also show that they participated in Communist Party activities knowing of the party's purpose to overthrow the government. But it now remains a matter of expediency rather than of law which individuals and groups are subject to prosecution.

Had Congress outlawed the Communist Party by direct fiat, the consequences to individual freedom would have been less serious than under the Supreme Court's decision. To say, therefore, that the Supreme Court has "in effect" outlawed the Communist Party is to miss the point: to outlaw the party would be to define a crime in terms which would enable any citizen to determine the boundary between permissible and non-permissible political behavior. Whereas to outlaw the party "in effect" but not as a matter of law is to confer a virtually unlimited discretion upon the Attorney General to determine what individuals and groups are to be banished from political life.

Any doubt as to the scope of the power which the

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Supreme Court's decision has conferred on the Attorney General disappears the moment the problem of membership is considered. Quite recently J. Edgar Hoover said that since the indictment of the eleven Communist leaders in 1948, the phrase "card-carrying Communist" had become obsolete. As he pointed out, the party has been purged of "unreliables," the various avenues of infiltration have presumably been closed, and by inference all membership lists and other written records have been destroyed. According to Mr. Hoover, the ratio of invisible to visible members of the party is ten to one, there being in his estimate about 43,000 actual members—the new phrase is "professional members"—and between 450,000 and 500,000 fellow-travelers and other categories of sympathizers. It is quite clear, therefore, that the fact of membership is not important in Mr. Hoover's view and that what he regards as controlling are such factors as activities, ideological similarities, and a rebellious or nonconforming disposition—in short, all the characteristics which were used to identify witches and heretics in the fifteenth century.

This conclusion is strengthened by reference to the position which the government took in the recent argument on the appeal of William Remington. In this case the government argued that it was not necessary for the trial judge to define membership in his charge to the jury, since membership could be proved by a series of acts. In view of this position, there is slight comfort to be found in Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney's statement in San Francisco the other day that the number of grand-jury indictments now being sought would be nearer 2,500 than 25,000.

For the time being the government will doubtless restrict indictments to "professional members," meaning bona fide card-carrying members of the Communist Party, but with the green light given by the Supreme Court it could also proceed against any individuals who had at any time been identified with any movement which the Communists are said to have controlled. That the government has not thus far proceeded against "other categories of sympathizers" does not mean that it will fail to do so at a later date. For the plain fact is, as Justice Douglas pointed out in his dissent, that we have started down a one-way road which leads into "territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen." The territory is dangerous precisely because the citizen can no longer determine when he is safe and when he has trespassed on subversive ground, and not even the Chief Justice of the land is willing to provide a guide or a map.

No boundaries have been fixed for the practical reason that the boundaries must be kept flexible so that they can be expanded or contracted as need may arise. But this is to confer on administrative officials a wholly unconstitutional discretion to define as crimes political activities which may be objectionable from a partisan point of view but which present no clear and present danger that the government might be overthrown.

Eventually the Supreme Court may restore the civil liberties which it has momentarily suspended, and popular revulsion against the excesses implicit in the court's decision may some day force Congress to repeal the Smith act. But the immediate issue is political, and it rests squarely with President Truman. Is he going to permit ambitious careerists in the Department of Justice to regress to the administrative level of the Palmer raids in the hope of winning judicial appointments, or did he mean what he said when he vetoed the McCarran act? Actually the current situation is far more dangerous than the Palmer raids, whose unconcealed violence and uncomplicated brutality notified every citizen that his liberties were in danger. Today we no longer crack skulls; we simply make a distinction between "discussion" and "advocacy" and vest in appointive officials the right to define a whole new category of political crimes and then change the definitions as they deem necessary. There will now be, of course, not one but a series of Foley Square mass prosecutions which will advertise to the world that we lack the courage of our traditional political convictions.

Malik's Move

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

ALTHOUGH his cease-fire proposal was dressed in the conventional Soviet language of self-righteousness and abuse, Mr. Malik's intention, I am convinced, was not merely to let out a new propaganda blast. It was that, too, of course. Coming just after the collapse of the four-power deputies' conference and just before the anniversary of the Korean war, its propaganda value was considerable; it both celebrated Russia's steadfast devotion to peace, at a moment when the West was charging Gromyko with responsibility for the breakdown at Paris, and captured the headlines that would otherwise have been devoted to the U. N.'s first military action against aggression. But Mr. Malik's talk was more than a sample of nicely timed psychological warfare. The nub of the speech was the carefully edited but unconditional proposal that "discussions should be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the Thirty-eighth Parallel." That this was said simply for effect is not at all likely.

In the United Nations, Western and Asian delegates who have good contacts with the Soviet representatives have been saying for several months that Moscow wanted to end the Korean fighting. The Russian peace feelers reported a few weeks ago and denied by Malik

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were of course the real thing. Several attempts to translate them into a formula acceptable to both sides were, according to report, rejected in Washington as premature. Whether or not Peking had been consulted about the Russian moves was not known: some delegates suggested that Moscow was acting behind China's back. In any case a military truce, such as Malik proposed, is the only kind of agreement that would enable both Peking and Washington to by-pass the formidable diplomatic obstacles raised by the aggressor and embargo resolutions in the Assembly and by the State Department's increasingly stiff stand on Formosa and Chinese representation in the U. N. The very fact that Malik said nothing about Peking's demands or the thorny question of Korea's political future is strong evidence that his basic purpose was peace.

Why should Russia want peace in Korea? The predominant view in Washington has been that Moscow's ends would be best served by a long-drawn-out war which would drain American power into the soil of Asia and delay the remobilization of Allied strength in Europe. This view seemed to be borne out by Gromyko's insistence on including the Atlantic Alliance and the whole Western rearmament program among the causes of East-West tension to be discussed at a Big Four conference. But obviously there are many factors that argue the other way, for while the struggle in Korea is using up American men and equipment, it is doing so at an immense cost to the Communists. First, China's armies are being badly chewed up and its own meager resources drained. Second, Mao Tse-tung may be pressing Stalin for more help than Russia wants to give—or even for active intervention. Third, if the war were to end on the Thirty-eighth Parallel, the threat of hostile forces or a Syngman Rhee regime on the Soviet-Manchurian border would be over. Fourth, the policy of "limited war" almost insures a war without victory: Manchuria will not, while the policy holds, be attacked or invaded, but neither can the Chinese hope to "push the U. N. forces into the sea." Instead, they face the unrewarding prospect of war without visible end but with increasing losses.

There are also broader reasons why Russia, at least, may now seek military peace in Korea. Assuming Stalin does not intend to start a world war but prefers to gain his ends by political means, fortified when expedient by military coups, he may well have reached the conclusion that the time has come for a new course. As Western armed strength increases, the possibility of successful military actions declines. But as Western armed strength increases, so do unrest and political instability in the West. The recent elections in France and Italy, analyzed elsewhere in this issue, clearly exposed the unstable political situation existing after several years of American aid. But if the two extremist parties gained in France and the left gained in Italy, despite E. C. A., what is to be expected as increasing military budgets eat away the limited benefits reaped by Europe's workers and peasants since the last war? Asia, the Middle East, and the other "backward" areas will be even more sharply affected by American concentration on war preparations. Throughout the world Point Four has become a bitter joke. And now it has been given a New Look by Nelson Rockefeller, whose report, "Partners in Progress," is severely examined by Fritz Sternberg on page 611. Under the Rockefeller scheme it would become an instrument to obtain needed raw materials rather than to create a decent life for millions of men and women whose misery inevitably inclines them to the one political faith that promises pie on earth—and a slice of freedom. The argument that Russia and communism will give neither would sound more impressive to them if it were accompanied by some evidence that it didn't apply equally to America and free enterprise. As long as Point Four is no more than a minor adjunct to our rearmament program, its political value will be—and will deserve to be—zero.

In Iran, as these words are written, an inexperienced, foolish oligarchy is busy taking over an oil concern which it cannot possibly run. It is doing this to prove its right to rule the country. If it did less or yielded to American urgings or British pressure it would doubtless be thrown out and supplanted by a still more extreme and fanatical party, a party whose chief political weapon is assassination and which could conduct even less successfully the huge and intricate operations of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. When this group in turn failed, when oil revenues dried up and misery in the country grew greater, no doubt the Tudeh Party would take over, and then, perhaps, things might look up a bit, for the Tudeh Party is Communist-controlled and the government it ran might get help from Russia. That it would pay in political coin—as well as oil—for such help one may confidently assume. But the real moral would be hidden deeper: it is that socialistic Britain and the democratic world as a whole must suffer because the system to which they are still tied apparently cannot adapt itself fast enough to the need for revolutionary change.

What has Iran's crisis to do with Malik's cease-fire proposal? This. Russia, I believe, would like a settlement in Korea because its team cannot win there in the long run. But meanwhile the growing Western power that rules out a military victory for communism is increasing communism's chance of a social-political victory—in Europe because of the impact of the arms program, in the Middle East and Asia because of the failure of the West to recognize that poverty and unrest are things it must deal with imaginatively, generously, cooperatively, and fast.

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Bonanza, Unlimited

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, June 21

"CONTROLS," in the philosophy of Leon Keyserling, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, "are a tool for obtaining production." Thus if the government thinks higher steel prices are necessary to persuade the steel companies to expand facilities, price boosts should be granted. If wages need to be raised to attract workers into an essential field, that should be permitted. And if a promoter wants a certificate of necessity, clearing his way for a quick tax write-off of a new industrial plant he was going to build anyway, the government should give to to him. Keyserling might not say this in so many words, but he did tell a meeting of Americans for Democratic Action that liberals should be praising the tax-amortization program instead of criticizing it. Only one high official in the Administration, Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, has questioned the lavishness with which tax advantages are handed to industrialists, who can assuredly recognize a bonanza when they see one.

In fact, after an Executives Expenditures Subcommittee of the House, headed by Porter Hardy, Jr., of Virginia, criticized the "legal profiteering" that goes on under the tax-amortization program, the Administration started a counter-offensive. Mobilization Czar Charles E. Wilson, whose disregard of labor sparked a serious union revolt against him, believes that tax-amortization favors to industry are highly desirable. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer said in St. Louis that a corporation which "demonstrated" it was "prepared to go through with an expansion program" for defense purposes was entitled to special tax favors. Sawyer's reasoning was the classic one: if an industrialist builds a new steel or aluminum plant to meet the country's mobilization requirements, he should not suffer loss when the need is ended. But neither Wilson nor Sawyer answered the Hardy committee's specific charge that the principle was being abused.

To put it briefly, the emergency program allows a corporation to write off the cost of new facilities in five years instead of the normal twenty or twenty-five years. If a new factory costs $100,000 to build and equip, depreciation can be reckoned at the rate of $20,000 a year instead of $4,000 or $5,000. When the company is calculating its taxes, the $20,000 depreciation figure is used to offset profits on which normal taxes, and perhaps excess-profits taxes, would otherwise be payable.

Speeded-up amortization was first used during World War I to meet the needs of business firms which were asked by the government to build facilities for indisputable war purposes, such as powder plants. Presumably these plants would not be operated after the war ended, and the construction cost could properly be written off during the actual years that they were in use. During World War II tax-amortization privileges were extended to a great variety of business firms. Since many of the plants built had a clear post-war value, speeded-up tax write-offs became, in effect, a generous gift from the Treasury. An investigating committee headed by Senator Brewster of Maine, a Republican conservative, later charged that the cost of the war was boosted $3,000,000,000 through tax-amortization certificates covering new plants and facilities costing less than $6,000,000,000. The lucky corporations got the benefit and the people paid the bill.

Ever since the Defense Production Act was signed on September 8, 1950, government agencies have gone hog-wild in passing out certificates of necessity for tax benefits. In all World War II the investment granted such certificates totaled $7,300,000,000; in the current defense program, according to the Hardy committee, it amounted to $5,000,000,000 after five months.

Certificates of necessity have been issued for new steel mills which would have been built if the Korean war had never broken out. Certificates have been issued for aluminum and power plants which will clearly be needed for our expanding population and economy unless, at the end of the cold war, we fall into a crippling depression. One case cited by the Hardy committee was the certificate granted to the Lehigh Valley Railroad for 1,650 new freight cars, although the road desperately needed the cars and had actually bought and placed them in service before November 15, 1950. Freight cars have an estimated useful life of twenty-eight years; so that if a railroad were allowed to depreciate them at 4 per cent a year, it should be able to build up replacement funds. But on the recommendation of the Defense Transportation Administration and by the decision of the National Security Resources Board, the Lehigh was issued a certificate of necessity authorizing it to write off 80 per cent of the cost of the cars in five years.

The Hardy committee exposed some deals in which certificates of necessity were granted to small groups of promoters who obviously hoped to strike it rich through the exploitation of government loans and tax benefits but whose operations were clearly doomed to collapse once they were publicized. In one of these deals promoters of the Hazleton Steel and Tubing Corporation had an investment of $600, plus 27.7 acres of land, on the basis of which they wanted to obtain a government loan of $7,800,000 and a tax-amortization certificate in order to build a steel-tubing plant, meanwhile paying themselves salaries of $90,000 a year.

The larger question about the tax-benefit program, however, concerns its application to well-established companies. Benjamin Fairless, of United States Steel,

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said recently in New York that the whole uproar about tax amortization was nonsensical, and that corporations would realize no genuine tax advantages. This claim is denied by the stampede of business men to apply for the certificates. Applications in six months reached a total of $19,000,000,000, and the Defense Production administration was finally forced to refuse to accept any more until those in hand had been processed. A corporation which gets a certificate is betting that during the quarter-century following the amortization of the original investment taxes will be lower than during the next five years of remobilization and cold war. Unless the bet turns sour, the public will have paid for facilities guaranteed a long and profitable future.

Beyond the immediate benefits of tax amortization, big corporations will enjoy other ways of increasing profits during remobilization. The possession of a certificate of necessity allows a company to mark up its prices to the government and to protect its profits from renegotiation to the extent of the tax allowance. Big corporations get the principal advantage because with their research departments and other expert services they were able to move fast and file requests for tax benefits before little companies could act.

In a letter to the Hardy committee Secretary Chapman suggested that tax write-offs should be limited to the proportion of investment which would really expire with the end of the emergency. The Hardy committee, by implication, approved his ideas, but no corrective legislation has resulted. Remobilization is a national need; for business men smart enough to profit from it, it is rapidly becoming Bonanza, Unlimited.

Europe After the Elections

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

I AM well aware that people who feel confused and uncertain are sometimes irritated when presented with disagreeable realities. Failure to understand a situation generates a false optimism, and any attempt to subject the facts to a dispassionate analysis seems negative, destructive, even malicious. A few weeks ago, for example, rumors of peace in Korea caused general rejoicing, but I could not honestly join in it after having listened to the long and distressing debate in the United Nations, where the very men who were expected to work out a peaceful settlement were destroying any possible basis for negotiation. Last Saturday something much more precise and sensational developed. In a timely and intelligent move Jacob A. Malik proposed a cease-fire in Korea without raising the controversial issue of Formosa or China's seat in the U. N. But Washington, instead of reacting positively, was represented by James Reston in Sunday's New York *Times* as most skeptical and "even slightly fearful that it might find that the Russians really do want to talk peace." If this is an accurate diagnosis of the official mood, how is the Korean war ever to be brought to an end?

As to Europe, the recent elections in Italy and France raise political questions which Western statesmanship can scarcely ignore. As a point of departure I will quote a passage from an editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune* of June 20:

> It is true that the Communist vote declined and that the new election law succeeded in reducing drastically their representation in the national assembly. Yet the results remain potentially grave. All that has happened in the world since 1946 has not disillusioned the wide portion of the population which would put France in subjection to Soviet ideals and Soviet power.

This description of the situation in France is even more applicable to Italy, where the Communists polled a larger popular vote than in the elections of 1948.

Unfortunately, the European elections have reinforced current misconceptions, for they have left in power a De Gasperi in Italy and a René Pleven or René Mayer in France who head government coalitions committed apparently to a "moderate" program of democratic collaboration in defense of peace. Most people, whether in public or in private life, say to themselves, "It is too bad there are still so many Communists in Italy and France, but after all they are not in the government." Since the countries of Western Europe know that their destiny is tied to the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, they will stand with the United States in what they believe is a policy to prevent war or Communist domination.

A different view would prevail if the facts were fully understood. The first and most important is, as the *Herald Tribune* observed, that in spite of everything that has happened since 1946, in spite of the volume of American aid, the unceasing anti-Russian propaganda, the Voice of America, the exploitation of Titoism, the splits caused by the Tito controversy in the various Communist parties of Europe, including the French and the Italian; in spite of the Kravchenko case and the David Rousset case in France, with their denunciations of Russian concentration camps—in spite of all this and much more, the Communist forces in the two countries where the elections were so hopefully awaited did not take the beating that had been predicted.

What political developments are to be expected in these countries in the coming months? De Gasperi is unquestionably a skilful politician, and if Henri Queuille can be persuaded to remain as Prime Minister of France he will be able to handle the complex situation facing the next government. Though his health is poor, M. Queuille is much more capable of "reconciling the irreconcilable" than the younger men who may succeed to his office—René Pleven, Maurice Petsche, or René Mayer—as was demonstrated in the hectic period before

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the elections. But there is a limit to what a clever politician can do. The need of enlarging the basis of the governing coalition in view of the Communist showing in the elections, will force concessions to the right, and the reactionaries are not going to give their support to the leaders of the Third Force for nothing. A government tending to the right will inevitably favor big business at the expense of the workers and will thus create more and more Communists.

The second thing to remember is that a great deal of American aid was required to give the government parties even the limited success they obtained in the French and Italian elections. This aid must continue if the governments are not to collapse under the strain of a growing inflation and mounting living costs. The need for more help from America will in turn increase the dependence of France—and all Western Europe—on the United States and weaken its capacity to resist policies which are generally opposed, such as the present extreme emphasis on the containment of Russia and communism by arms rather than negotiation.

Such is the panorama presented to the observer of the European scene who has the courage to look the facts in the face. Of course the situation would change if Russia made some move which convinced Western Europe that it was not going to send its armies across the Elbe unless it was attacked. As long as the Russian danger looms large, the new Third-Fourth Force can probably be held together through fear. The moment Moscow adopted a different policy, the difficulty of holding together the heterogeneous government in France, and also in Italy, would become much greater.

California: There She Goes!

BY JOHN BEECHER

San Francisco, June 18

CALIFORNIA seems to have become reaction's favorite laboratory for developing and testing repressive legislation. Evidence is mounting that this formerly progressive state has been selected as the place to try out the newest weapons for the destruction of free institutions and popular rights.

The offensive against the people of California opened more than two years ago with the imposition of the now famous "regents' oath" on the University of California faculty. Made bold by this apparent victory, reaction stepped up the pace of its drive. A far more severe and sweeping loyalty program was prepared to cover all public employees in the state. Though it has received less publicity than the regents' oath, the Levering act to enforce loyalty has already curtailed the basic civil liberties of more than a million Californians and cast the shadow of intimidation over the state's once magnificently free system of public education. And the end is not yet. Measures are before the state legislature which if adopted will turn California into an advance model of an American police state.

The passage of the Levering act shows how schemes for repression which originate elsewhere in the nation are "improved upon" in California. On September 8, 1950, W. Stuart Symington, chairman at that time of the National Security Resources Board, submitted to President Truman a plan for organizing the civil defense of the United States. Exhibit D of Symington's report was a model state civil-defense act, one of whose provisions was a requirement that civil-defense workers take a loyalty oath disavowing membership in "any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of this state by force or violence. . . ." Two weeks later an almost identical oath was incorporated into a bill which, without the customary committee hearings, was jammed through a special session of the California legislature as a "must" in the Governor's program. By Warren out of Symington, the Levering act conscripted into the civil defense all public employees in California. Without being given any protection for their wage-and-hour standards or working conditions, these draftees were made subject to whatever orders might be issued by their superiors and were required to perform any additional duties that might be assigned them. The crux of the act was the loyalty oath imposed on every public employee in his capacity as a civil-defense worker.

The Levering oath differed from the one proposed by Symington in being more ambiguous and hence more menacing. The words "any political party or organization" were changed to "any party or organization *political or otherwise,*" so as to include associations of any description which could be smeared as "subversive." The classic and one would have thought unalterable phrase, "the overthrow of the government by force and violence," was expanded by four new words—"or other unlawful means." By this addition a masterpiece of indefinite reference was created. As a final "improvement" the Levering act required the public employee to swear

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that he had not been a member of "any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow, etc," *for five years previous*. Vague as the oath is, the penalties for swearing falsely are precise—a minimum sentence of one year and a maximum of fourteen years in state prison.

Apparently the attack upon the civil liberties of Californians has only begun. In the 1951 session of the legislature bills have been introduced to enforce the "loyalty" of other large classes of the population, to set up five separate inquisitorial boards, to control education even more rigorously than at present, and to wipe out the rights of organized labor. If these bills should pass, the Levering act would be written into the state constitution and put beyond the reach of simple repeal. Not only public employees but all business and professional people licensed by the state would be required to take the loyalty oath. Among the 400,000 in this category are barbers, dry cleaners, doctors, dentists, real-estate brokers, morticians, pest exterminators, and persons in many other occupations. The 15,000 members of the state bar would also have to affirm their "loyalty" as a condition of pleading in the courts.

Governor Warren

Teachers would be dismissed "for any utterance of any treasonable word or words." Spies from the Attorney General's office would be planted in classrooms, augmenting the volunteers already functioning in this capacity. Teachers would be subjected to the intimidation of fingerprinting and of being shadowed in their private lives. No persons with unorthodox political opinions would be permitted to make use of school property for meeting or debate.

Employers would be authorized to discharge "Communists" or any other persons who could be accused of engaging in "activities involving disloyalty." Out would go the union shop and the inclusion of professional workers in unions. The records of labor organizations would be open to the employers' scrutiny.

Another group of bills would create extraordinary police powers to handle the presumed danger of subversion. All public employees would be fingerprinted and their prints checked against criminal-identification files. Applicants for change of name would be fingerprinted, and the courts would investigate their "loyalty." Wire-tapping would be legalized and evidence so gathered made admissible in criminal cases. A "little McCarran act" would require members of alleged Communist organizations to register, with violation punishable as a felony. "Anti-Communist civil-liberties defense commissions" would be set up to police education, science, art, and politics. The commissions would have the power to force individuals and organizations considered "subversive" to register; severe penalties would be imposed for failure to register. Under the procedures prescribed in the bills the accused would be deemed guilty until he could prove his innocence.

THIS mass of proposed legislation constitutes a complete blueprint for American totalitarianism. But there are signs that the people of California are beginning to realize that it *can* happen here. Far too few as yet have taken action, but a democratic opposition exists, at least in embryo.

A spontaneous faculty-student revolt at San Francisco State College was its first manifestation. Opponents of the oath at the college began to organize their fight against it on the day that the introduction of the Levering bill was announced in the press. The genteel tactics used by the University of California faculty were abandoned. At Berkeley the participation of students and general public was discouraged, the faculty choosing to consider the matter a professional controversy revolving around such abstract concepts as tenure and the authority of the faculty versus that of the regents. The faculty at State College sought to find allies among the students and other sections of the "laity."

The first move in the campaign was made while the Levering act was still before the legislature. Barred by the administration from meeting on the campus, the faculty foes of the oath and their student supporters held a huge assembly in a downtown church. Out of this meeting emerged a Students' Committee for Academic Freedom which was to play a brilliant and responsible role in the struggle. Not too often have American college youth lived up to the great tradition of European and Asiatic students in fighting for democratic liberties. The students of San Francisco State, however, wrote a new chapter in that tradition and gave an example of unshakable solidarity that is almost unique in these times of division and distrust.

The Levering act was signed by Governor Warren early in October. Public employees were given thirty days in which to take the prescribed loyalty oath. Into this thirty-day period the faculty resisters and the Student's Committee at State College packed an educational effort that drew ever larger sections of the student body and the general public into the fight. With no aid from any other quarter, they broke up an attempted news blackout and forced the press to open its columns to reports of the resistance. Slowly the state began to be

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awakened by the clamor on the San Francisco campus.

Strictly speaking, the clamor was not "on" the campus but in the surrounding street, parks, and halls. President J. Paul Leonard was concerned less with upholding the intellectual integrity of his college than with obtaining appropriations for a football stadium and new buildings from the legislature. Discussion of the Levering act was therefore taboo on the campus. Anti-oath meetings had to be held elsewhere, with the police usually in attendance. The Students' Committee was denounced by the college authorities, the president hinting that it was under the control of sinister outside forces. The college administration stooped even to collaboration with the Hearst press in a futile effort to scotch the protest movement. All these maneuvers failed. Attempts to divide the students only united them more firmly around their democratically chosen leaders, who represented the whole political spectrum.

The students actually took the lead away from the faculty in the fight against the oath. It was the students who furnished their instructors with copies of the law, together with a legal analysis of it, at a time when most of the faculty were ignorant of the content and significance of the oath they were being asked to sign. It was the students who hired halls for anti-oath rallies, furnished soapboxes and big audiences on street corners for faculty speakers, ceaselessly agitated about the issue in classrooms and college lounging places, despite the official ban. They knew that academic freedom was *their* concern because it was *their* education that was at stake. As a final proof of their determination they dug down into their pockets and made substantial contributions to sustain the fired non-signing teachers.

THE student movement at San Francisco State was an example of the kind of unity that alone can turn back the reactionary offensive. Unfortunately no such unity seems obtainable today among the people of California, so successfully has reaction masked its drive under the colors of patriotism and the requirements of national security. Several organizations have been formed, however, to work for the repeal of the Levering act and to oppose the other police-state measures now before the legislature. An active educational campaign is being carried on through mass-meetings and pamphlets. A number of non-signers are bringing suit to challenge the Levering act in the courts.

Despite these heroic efforts, the immediate outlook for California can only be described as critical. Nothing like this repressive drive has been seen in many years, and it is hard for people to believe what is happening until they are themselves hit. The intimidating pressures are already having serious effects. Influential individuals and organizations that would normally be fighting on the side of democracy, such as the bulk of the labor movement, have not joined the ranks of those who are trying to defeat the measures threatening the extinction of California liberties. The present public mood presents a somber parallel to that hysterical paralysis of the popular will which has always preceded fascism.

Not So Deep in the Heart of Texas

BY JOHN McCULLY

Austin, June 20

MAYBE the build-up was overdone. Or maybe General Douglas MacArthur just doesn't have the crowd appeal his fond admirers think he has. Whatever the reason, there is no denying that Texans stayed away from the General's platform appearances in droves.

They did turn out, about a million of them, to catch a fleeting glimpse of the great man as he was driven in an open touring car from airport to hotel or from hotel to stadium. But in a six-city, five-speech tour the deposed U. N. commander was able to get fewer than 100,000 people to listen to his speeches, despite the biggest crowd-promotion campaign in the history of the state.

In Austin, where the General addressed the legislature in a special afternoon session with no admittance fee, about 10,000 Texans gathered on the spacious Capitol lawn, which would have accommodated 100,000. By the end of the speech a fourth of their number had drifted away. Probably not more than half the 181 members of the legislature bothered to show up, although they had overwhelmingly voted to invite MacArthur to appear.

In Houston the oil millionaires Glenn McCarthy and H. R. Cullen learned that they couldn't order 800,000 people around. Despite a last-minute announcement by Cullen that it was the duty of the people of Houston to go to hear MacArthur in the 76,000-seat Rice Stadium, only from 10,000 to 20,000—depending on the estimator—took the trouble. Glenn McCarthy had even had the adjacent old stadium wired for sound to accommodate the overflow!

Galveston, with no speech scheduled, turned out a good crowd for the parade. It got what it came for—a look at the most-talked-about military leader of all

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General MacArthur

time, who had returned to his native country after a fourteen-year absence. San Antonio, the military capital of Texas, produced the biggest crowd of the six cities, but the annual Battle of Flowers parade draws twice as many. In Dallas the mob went wild at sight of the General, but only about 25,000 people filed into the 75,000-seat Cotton Bowl to hear him attack the Truman Administration's foreign policy. This was the best audience of his tour. Fort Worth estimated its parade crowd at 150,000, but only 7,500 went to Farrington Field to hear the charge that the country is drifting into socialism.

An Associated Press reporter who followed MacArthur every step of the way through Texas wrote:

> It was MacArthur the hero and not MacArthur the foreign-policy disputant who aroused the emotion of Texans this week. They came by the hundreds of thousands to cheer his open convertible through bunting-lined parade routes. . . . But they came only by the tens of thousands, and cheered little beyond the margin of politeness, to hear the man sound his charges of appeasement and false fears. . . . They saw the man they had come to see, they clapped, they wondered if the General was really looking right at them when he waved. "Well, we've seen him," they said, and put their children in their cars and went home.

MACARTHUR'S Texas junket was planned before he had returned to the United States, but it took the insistence of McCarthy and Cullen to turn it into reality. The idea originated when both houses of the Texas legislature adopted a resolution inviting the General to address a joint session. Texans assumed that he would jump at the chance to line up their state on his side. Naturally, the United States would then fall in line. MacArthur, however, didn't jump at the chance; perhaps he was too busy with the tumultuous welcomes accorded him in San Francisco and New York.

The Texas legislature first learned that its invitation was accepted through a telephone call from Glenn McCarthy in Houston to Representative Max Smith, sponsor of the resolution. Simultaneously, McCarthy told the press that the General would speak in Austin on June 13 and in Houston on June 14. He gave the impression that he had persuaded MacArthur to come to Texas, but Cullen, the other oil millionaire, announced that he had known it all along, and indicated that it was all his good work. Mayor Oscar Holcombe, no MacArthur man but a practical politician who has held his office off and on for twenty years, soothed injured feelings by naming McCarthy chairman of the arrangements committee and Cullen chairman of the reception committee.

The legislature wound up its business and went home on the Friday before the General's scheduled Wednesday appearance but not before the principal sponsors of the invitation had pondered the question of keeping the members in session the extra five days—at a cost of about $10,000 a day. The House voted two to one not to stay in session; members were expected to return to Austin at their own expense to sit in a special session on the Capitol steps. Perhaps half of them did.

Meanwhile rumors of the tour's political significance were spreading. Drew Pearson reported that it was designed to do a hatchet job on Senator Tom Connally, who heads the Foreign Relations Committee and has supported Truman's foreign policy. Connally will be up for reelection in 1952, with Governor Allan Shivers and former Representative Martin Dies possible opponents. Shivers, as Governor, could scarcely afford not to do his part in receiving the General and in introducing him at the joint legislative session, but he clearly showed that as a Democrat he did not intend to have any part in a Republican plot to capture Texas. When the time came, he introduced MacArthur, but he turned down all invitations from other cities to appear with the visitor.

Most Democratic politicians apparently felt the same way. Although they fulfilled their duties as genial hosts in the Texas tradition, they didn't overdo it. It was the backers of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition like McCarthy and Cullen who hovered around MacArthur. The old-line Democrat, Amon Carter, oil man and publisher of the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram,* rode in the parade in Fort Worth, but that was as far as he went. Carter's paper already had indorsed Senator Connally for reelection, the first in Texas to do so.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., who had had a hand in the anti-Tydings campaign in Maryland, came to Austin for the MacArthur speech. He told Texans that the only way to save the country was to elect a Republican Administration. His ticket: MacArthur and Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, to be nominated by the Republicans and Southern Democrats.

In the attempt to swing the leading Democratic state in the country into the Republican camp MacArthur and his Republican-Dixiecrat backers can chalk up the strenuous Texas tour as wasted effort. Texans wanted to see MacArthur, but once they had seen him, 90 per cent were satisfied, and didn't bother to listen to what he had to say on either foreign or domestic policy.

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De Gasperi's Grim Future

BY MARIO ROSSI

THE pleasure felt in this country over the outcome of the Italian municipal elections has been replaced by a sense of puzzlement. At first the fall of the Communist local administrations in almost all the large cities was thought to mark the success of America's expensive endeavors. Now, after an analysis of the voting, it is seen that all is not so rosy. Although the Christian Democrats won many communes previously held by the left, the Communists and Nenni Socialists increased their popular vote. Both Communists and anti-Communists therefore claim a victory, hailing their gains and discounting their losses.

Actually the balloting showed that Christian Democrats and Communists face each other with about equal strength, having received 6,495,000 and 6,427,000 votes respectively. Italy's future government will be decided by the parliamentary elections in 1953. If there were only winners this year, the problem boils down to which party made the most important gain: in terms of political advantages, is De Gasperi's tighter control of the large cities worth more than the Communists' growing popular support? That question also can only be answered in 1953.

The Christian Democrats insist that the Communists' strength has been due in large measure to their firm grip on the administration of the northern industrial cities and of countless smaller towns and villages. This may or may not be true. In Italy administration is highly centralized, provinces are under the direct supervision of government-appointed prefects, and the police are controlled by the Christian Democratic Minister of the Interior in Rome. The mayor, therefore, has only limited power. The new city officials, it is true, may make it their aim to undermine the leftist General Confederation of Labor, but it is not certain that they will succeed.

That this election would replace the Communist mayors with members of the government parties was generally expected. In 1946 the left won in most of the large cities in northern and central Italy thanks to the prestige it had gained in the war of liberation; these cities had been freed by the partisans, most of whom belonged to leftist parties. Moreover, the East-West split had not yet occurred, and the country was governed by a coalition Cabinet in which the left participated.

By 1948 the picture had changed. The Christian Democrats ran ahead almost everywhere, even in the communes with a leftist administration. In the next three years there were signs that De Gasperi's overwhelming majority was evaporating, and the Prime Minister doubted that he could gain control of the large cities in the 1951 elections if his party ran independently. He therefore had the Minister of the Interior push through Parliament a new election law providing that several parties could form a coalition and run one list. The list receiving a plurality of votes would be assigned two-thirds of the seats in the municipal councils. This law assured the victory of the anti-Communist coalition.

Nevertheless, the Christian Democrats did not do nearly so well as in 1948, their percentage of the total vote dropping from 55 to 37.3. For this defeat the Catholic church is in part responsible. The Vatican's militant intrusion into politics, thundering threats of excommunication, has revived anti-clericalism. Italians have not entirely forgotten that their country's unity was achieved in a struggle against the church, and that the heroes of the Risorgimento from Victor Emmanuel II to Cavour, Garibaldi, and Mazzini, were all excommunicated. The party has also suffered from the wear and tear of its long term in power. Being more an anti-Communist coalition than a regular party with an ideology accepted and shared by all its followers, it was rent by differences of opinion as soon as its rule was secured. De Gasperi's cunning gift for compromise has maintained a semblance of unity, but the left wing is dissatisfied because reforms are not carried out and the right wing because reform is discussed. Financial scandals involving party leaders have contributed to the alienation of the workers.

Prime Minister De Gasperi

THROUGHOUT the campaign each side emphasized its foreign policy. Togliatti's offer to support any government, even De Gasperi's, that would follow a policy of neutrality was well-timed and appealed to many war-shy Italians. A huge military budget is now before

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Parliament, and the left argued that the funds required for it could be more usefully employed to solve the urgent problems of land reform, living standards, and unemployment. The effectiveness of this argument was demonstrated by the large vote the left rolled up in the agricultural regions of southern Italy and Sicily.

The departure of the Social Democrats from the Cabinet also weakened De Gasperi: his government lost the semblance of coalition and became clearly clerical. In the elections the Social Democrats allied themselves in almost every commune with the Christian Democrats, but in Italy today the Third Force has no great popularity.

Drawings by Ernesto Valentino

Togliatti

The new Social Democratic Party is an amalgamation of the Italian Workers' Socialist Party headed by Giuseppe Saragat and the Socialist Union Party headed by Giuseppe Romità. The fusion occurred after long and laborious parleys which underlined rather than reconciled the divergence of aims and ideals. Saragat's followers have been consistently pro-American, while Romità's have looked to British Labor for inspiration. Saragat maintained that the Social Democrats should support De Gasperi's foreign policy and share in his governmental responsibilities; Romità opposed the Atlantic Pact and any collaboration with the Christian Democrats. In the compromise finally reached, the Saragat group consented to abandon the Cabinet, and Romità engaged his followers' support of the Atlantic Pact. Vigorous protests have come from both groups, and the new party contains the seeds of further splits. Ever since the first schism in Socialist ranks (January, 1947) the Social Democrats have formed so many splinter groups that even those most favorably inclined toward them are bewildered. Their disagreements do not further an understanding of Social Democratic principles among the working class. Workers want a party with a clear-cut policy and determined leaders such as only the Christian Democrats and the Communists have had in the past.

The elections revealed a disturbing upsurge of neo-Fascism, especially in the south and in Sicily. Even in the north the movement showed remarkable strength, obtaining 50,000 votes in Milan. As the flag-bearer of aggressive nationalism, it appeals strongly to the youth of Italy, who are sensitive to their country's loss of prestige and power. Young people are inclined to wonder whether Italy would not have been better off if Germany had won the war. They say that Italy could not have been more dependent on Germany than it is now on America, and that a victorious Germany would not have exacted the sacrifice of national territory or of colonial possessions. Most neo-Fascists are too young to remember the Fascist dictatorship; they grew up in the depressing atmosphere of the greater tragedy of defeat.

In the south most of the Fascist vote came from the landowners, who once supported the Christian Democrats but now think the government is not strong or dynamic enough to protect them against land seizures or agitation for reforms. At present the neo-Fascists do not represent a serious threat, but should conditions degenerate further and conservatives use them as vigilantes, violence might result.

OF THE two main conclusions to be drawn from the Italian elections the first is that the Communists, contrary to all forecasts, are stronger than in 1948. As the Vatican organ, the *Osservatore Romano,* noted, the dramatic resignation of two Communist deputies, which aroused so much hope in Rome and Washington, "not only has not shaken the position of the extreme left wing but in a sense has confirmed the existence of unitarian discipline unswayed by any form of deviationism." The second is that the Christian Democracy is still the main pillar of the anti-Communist coalition and that no other party has a chance of replacing it in that capacity.

It is important to keep these two facts in mind, for they will influence the whole future course of Italian politics. Unless De Gasperi is able to recapture his lost ground—and nothing indicates that he will be, since the conservative vote is tending to drift away from Christian Democracy—he will not command an absolute majority in Parliament after the next election. Instead of being in a position to dispense, if he pleases, with the support of the minor parties, he will need their vote to form a government. Nothing indicates that the Social Democrats will be strong enough to hold the balance of power, and in any case the Christian Democrats would not want to be at their mercy. It must be remembered that the Social Democrats, while anti-Communist and therefore supporters of the Premier's foreign policy, are also strongly anti-clerical, as their staunch opposition to the inclusion of the Lateran pacts in the Italian constitution demonstrated. In domestic legislation they would oppose the church's effort to infiltrate every aspect of Italian life. Thus the Christian Democrats would have no alternative but to turn to the right for support. The right could be expected to support De Gasperi's foreign policy, but its price would be

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that no social or economic reforms should ever be mentioned again. A program of social conservatism would of course solidify the left and isolate the Social Democrats, who would then be inevitably thrown into some sort of alliance with the Communists. Obviously, if the Social Democrats abandoned the reforms which make up their platform, they would cease to exist as a Socialist party. Thus the extreme right and the extreme left would face each other without a chance of compromise.

In this political atmosphere some of the old and experienced moderate politicians can play an important role. That is why the election of Enrico de Nicola to the presidency of the Senate, on the death of Ivanoe Bonomi, was a happy event. As first President of the Italian Republic, De Nicola won the gratitude and confidence of all Italians. A Neapolitan monarchist, with the fine intellectual traditions of the south, he had persuaded the strongly monarchist southern provinces to follow his example and support the Republic. Since then he has gained the confidence of rightists and leftists alike by his uncompromising fidelity to the Italian constitution. Men of Enrico de Nicola's honesty and prestige can help to prevent open conflict in Italy over opposed world philosophies.

Dangerous Dosage

BY LEONARD ENGEL

CANCER of the colon is responsible for more deaths than any other single form of cancer; nearly 50,000 Americans will die of it this year. An uncounted number of these deaths can be charged to irresponsible laxative advertising. For a generation various laxative manufacturers have plugged their wares in full-page advertisements as remedies for what they like to call "middle-age irregularity." Persistent change in bowel habits after the age of thirty-five, however, is often a symptom of cancer; what is needed for middle-age irregularity is not a laxative but a physical checkup. The widespread use of laxatives to correct bowel difficulties is unquestionably to blame in part for the fact that colon cancers—which are easily diagnosed and respond fairly well to early treatment—are usually seen too late for the patient's life to be saved. Laxative advertising, moreover, has had a part in thousands of deaths from appendicitis.

This is not to say that laxatives should never be used or that all laxative manufacturers are unconscionable exploiters of the public. A mild laxative is proper treatment for occasional constipation. In some cases of chronic constipation also prolonged use of a laxative may be necessary—under the eye of a doctor rather than an advertising copy writer.

In order to boost their products, laxative manufacturers have sold the public a choice assortment of myths. One is that it is necessary to have a bowel movement every day. But human beings are not cast in such a rigid mold. For some a daily movement is normal, but others have a movement every other day or every three days, and there are healthy persons who have one only once a week. A number of years ago Dr. Walter C. Alvarez of the Mayo Clinic, a physician with a gift for studying medical problems in a homely, commonsense way, fed glass beads to a group of healthy medical students. He found wide variations in the length of time the beads remained in the alimentary canal and in the frequency of bowel movements. Only two of the students passed most of the beads in as short a time as twenty-four hours; the great majority took four days or more, and several needed nine days to pass 50 per cent of the beads. Moreover, those who had the fewest movements and took longest to eliminate the beads gave evidence of extracting the greatest amount of nutrients from their food—in other words, had the most efficient digestive processes. Medical opinion now holds that an individual is constipated only if evacuation is difficult or painful or leaves a sense of incompleteness.

Dr. Alvarez was instrumental in demolishing another bogy featured in the laxative ads—that the accumulation of waste matter in the large intestine poisons the system and leads to auto-intoxication, which causes fatigue, depression, irritability, and numerous other terrible disorders. Auto-intoxication is a serious condition, but it occurs as the result of kidney failure, not constipation; neither toxins nor anything else, except water, is absorbed through the lining of man's large intestine. The headaches that sometimes accompany prolonged constipation are due simply to mechanical distention of the bowel, a point Dr. Alvarez demonstrated by producing headaches in student volunteers by artificially distending the bowel. Chronic fatigue and irritability, it is hardly necessary to add, reflect a deeper disturbance and require other treatment than a laxative.

The list of substances found in laxative preparations

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make strange reading. One remedy—fortunately no longer on sale—had sand as a principal ingredient. Most laxative agents fall into one of three categories: chemical irritants such as phenolphthalein, podophyllin, strychnine, aloes, and cascara; saline cathartics of the type of milk of magnesia, epsom salts, and citrate of magnesia, which act largely by preventing the absorption of water in the stomach and thus lead to flooding of the large intestine; and bulk producers such as agar, psyllium seed, various gums, and synthetic derivatives of cellulose. In addition, mineral oil, roughage foods, and lemon juice ought to be mentioned.

It takes no great knowledge of medicine or chemistry to recognize that many of these agents have no place in the human digestive system—at any rate, should not be taken more than occasionally—and that some are downright dangerous. One of the commonest types of constipation is spastic constipation, in which there is a cramp-like tightening of the colon muscles, so that the contents of the colon are retained as in a vise. This is not a disorder of the bowel but a nervous reflex—a consequence, perhaps, of the extreme nervous tension under which many live. Stimulation with irritants is the treatment best calculated to make it worse. Podophyllin and strychnine, moreover, are violent poisons; although the quantities involved are too small to do serious harm to most adults, laxatives containing strychnine have caused several deaths among children.

Most of the saline cathartics are alkaline and therefore neutralize the digestive acids of the stomach. Taken occasionally in moderate doses, they do little harm; taken often, they interfere seriously with normal digestive processes. Psyllium seeds are tough and needle-sharp, and can tear the lining of the stomach and intestines; psyllium flour, often used in place of the whole seed to eliminate the tough fiber, has been shown to injure the kidneys. Mineral oil is useful for occasional constipation, but it should not be used regularly as it prevents the absorption of essential nutrients like vitamins A and D. As to bran and similar foods, the human digestive system has no organ comparable to the second stomach of the cow, in which bacteria break down coarse cellulose foods. One might as well eat metal filings as bran; the fact that many faddists have eaten bran for years without apparent harm proves only that the digestive system can stand unbelievable abuse. Leafy vegetables are about as coarse a food as human beings should eat.

Finally, for the past several years, citrus-fruit packers have been advising us to "keep regular" by taking a glass of lemon juice every morning on arising. Lemon juice has no special laxative properties; a glass of water, hot or cold, or a cup of tea or coffee the first thing in the morning will do as much. The important thing is to take fluid after the long night fast; this seems to stimulate the bowels. In any case, lemon juice should be avoided; it is highly acid and may harm the teeth. Recent Mayo Clinic studies have shown that a glass of lemon juice daily causes significant erosion of tooth enamel in less than six months.

IT MAY be asked why the promotion and sale of such doubtful preparations are not halted by government action. The answer is, first, that the two agencies with responsibility in this field—the Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Trade Commission—have limited powers and, partly for that reason, have been less than enthusiastic about using the powers they do have. Bran and lemon juice are foods rather than drugs; and the F. D. A.'s authority over foods is limited, broadly speaking, to preventing adulteration. The agency's difficulties are well illustrated by the outcome of its attempt to halt the sale of the "health foods" advocated by Gayelord Hauser. The federal courts rejected the F. D. A.'s contention that the sale of Hauser's book, with its weird claims, in conjunction with that of "health foods" constituted mislabeling. Second, the most harmful laxative drugs have been on the scene since before 1938, when the present Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was passed. The drug-licensing requirements of the 1938 law apply only to drugs introduced since that date—except for narcotics and similar special items, no license is required to sell drugs previously in use.

If it were so minded, however, the Federal Trade Commission could do a good deal to curb irresponsible promotion of laxatives. It has authority to ban misleading advertising and can even compel changes in brand names. In fact, it has just done exactly that in the case of Carter's Little Liver Pills. A laxative containing aloes and podophyllin, Carter's pills have been sold for sixty years as a liver stimulant—precisely what you need to get rid of that tired feeling, according to Carter's ingenious ad writers, who have thought up no fewer than thirty-seven pungent synonyms for fatigue. Carter's pills will even permit you to "overeat and overindulge without morning-after effects." "Wake up your liver bile," a Carter jingle urged, "when you feel sour and sunk, and the world looks punk, take a Carter's Little Liver Pill."

The F. T. C. has ordered the word liver struck from the name of the product and forbidden Carter to claim that the pills stimulate the liver. The pills have no effect whatever on the liver, the commission declares; and even if they did stimulate the flow of bile, there is no evidence that this would relieve fatigue. Carter can claim that its pills relieve fatigue and related conditions only to the extent that "such conditions are benefited by evacuation of the bowels."

The action against Carter's pills is the only one the F. T. C. has pressed against a widely promoted laxative

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in many years. The commission contends that proceeding against a falsely advertised medicine is extremely difficult—eight years of special experiments and a 10,000-page record of evidence were needed to erect a court-proof case against Carter. However, I can cite one situation, involving several companies, in which the advertising misrepresentation is self-evident and in which the only thing the F. T. C. needs is the will to prosecute.

Among physicians, one of the most highly regarded of the currently popular laxatives is methylcellulose, a synthetic derivative of the plant constituent cellulose developed by the Chilcott Laboratories. Methylcellulose is a bulk-producer, like agar; its advantage over agar is that it can be made into tablets, although the process is rather tricky. Because of this difficulty a number of companies have elected to use a related compound, carboxymethylcellulose, which appears to have less desirable characteristics but is easier to work with. One of these firms, labeled and advertised its product as "the methylcellulose laxative" for several months.

This company's promotion material also includes citations from medical journals—the newest form of medical testimonial—actually referring to methylcellulose, not its own different product. Ads for another carboxymethylcellulose product, Pells, make the same misuse of medical literature. Ads for a third, Bulk-Tabs, proclaim that users can disregard the cautions in the use of laxatives, since Bulk-Tabs are entirely safe no matter how they are used or by whom, a generalization that cannot be made about any medication.

There are many other cases in which eight years of experiment and 10,000 pages of testimony would not be needed to prove misrepresentation. And even if they were, the proper procedure for the government agencies concerned is to make a start, despite their shortage of funds and personnel. The health and lives of a good many people are at stake.

Partners in Reaction

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

TODAY the conviction is widespread that if war is to be avoided the United States and the Atlantic Pact countries should not only strengthen their military potential but should compete with the Russians in the economic and social fields as well. With half the world's population living in industrially backward areas on annual incomes of barely 5 to 10 per cent of the present American average, nearly everyone has now come to see the connection between standards of living and world peace.

But it would be taking the word for the deed to assume that significant progress has been made in the implementation of this idea. At the present time we are spending about thirty to forty million dollars a year for President Truman's Point 4 program, but our military expenditures now amount to fifty billion a year; in other words, the present outlay for Point 4 amounts to less than one-tenth of one per cent of current military expenditures. Today 800,000,000 people live in Asia outside the Russo-Chinese orbit. If the forty million dollars allotted under Point 4 really went to non-Soviet Asia—part goes to South America—this would mean an expenditure of about 5 cents per capita. No one can be cynical enough to maintain that such a feeble expenditure would mean real progress. Indeed, the Gray report concluded that we should spend twenty times this amount.

Nothing much has been done, however, since the Gray report was published. In this vacuum a new report has appeared, the Rockefeller report, which makes certain proposals for the further development of the industrially underdeveloped areas but without any substantial government expenditures.

The salient part of the Rockefeller report deals not with conditions in the undeveloped areas but with American dependence on raw materials. Most of the report, in fact, centers on the point that although the United States accounts for more than half of the world's heavy-industry production, it mines only about a third of the world's annual output of the fifteen basic minerals. The areas from which we get 73 per cent of the strategic and critical materials which we import—tin, tungsten, chrome, manganese, lead, zinc, copper—send us more than half of all our imports. And these areas will become increasingly important: first, because raw-material imports will be stepped up as a result of rearmament, and, secondly, because part of these raw materials now come from countries in the Russian orbit. According to the report, an attempt will be made to reduce American dependence on these areas.

How, then, can raw material production in the un-

FRITZ STERNBERG, author of "How to Stop the Russians Without War," will bring out a new book this summer, to be entitled "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial."

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developed areas be increased to meet American needs and also to reduce our dependence on countries in the Russian orbit? Is this to be done by doubling or possibly tripling investments of American private capital abroad? Here is the answer from a section of the report entitled "Materials for Defense and Peace":

> The Advisory Board recommends that the new Overseas Economic Administrator lose no time in organizing and pressing a sizable development program which will both step up sources already available and bring into production new untapped resources. An investment of two billion dollars in production facilities over the next few years could swell the flow of critical materials to this country and to Europe by a billion dollars a year. The Advisory Board feels this increased production can best be carried out under private auspices.

In view of this reliance on private capital, it is important to note what the report has to say of the role of private enterprise to date:

> In the five-year period of 1946-50 roughly $3,500,000,000 of private United States capital have been invested in the underdeveloped areas, or about $700,000,000 a year. Although this is a considerable sum the bulk of it has been concentrated in a few countries and in a few fields of activity. To meet the capital needs of the underdeveloped areas the Advisory Board estimates that the current flow of private United States capital to these countries should be at least doubled, and perhaps tripled.

The report then goes on to suggest a number of measures, such as a tax-incentive program and the underwriting of the transfer risk on foreign debt obligations, which might encourage American enterprises to invest more capital in underdeveloped areas.

IT SHOULD be noted that the report states only in general terms where American capital has been invested during the post-war period. The Gray report was more precise. In the three years from 1947 to 1949, according to the Gray report, the annual average of all net United States foreign private investment was $800,000,000. Of this amount 74 per cent was distributed mainly among the few countries possessing exploitable petroleum resources. Apart from investment in the petroleum industry, an annual average of only $128,000,000, went into Latin American republics and only $28,000,000 into other underdeveloped areas. This means, of course, that the role of American private capital in the development of Asiatic areas was practically nil.

The Gray report gave this answer to the question of whether American private investments might be considerably increased: "It must be recognized that there are now substantial obstacles to an expansion of such investment. Present international tensions are a controlling deterrent in those areas where an actual military threat exists." Indeed, it was precisely these factors which motivated the authors of the Gray report to emphasize the need for American government initiative in the development of backward areas. It is significant that no mention is made in the Rockefeller report of those portions of the Gray report which explain why we cannot expect a large-scale expansion of American private investments abroad. If American military expenditures amount to forty or fifty billion dollars in the early 1950's, American private enterprise is unlikely to double or triple its investments beyond American borders.

BUT assuming that American private enterprise would be willing to increase foreign investments to two or three times what they were between 1946 and 1950, what then? Would this change the factors responsible for a standard of living in large parts of the underdeveloped areas which is only 5 per cent of the American standard? Hardly any improvement in this direction has been accomplished by private investments to date. Instead, the gap between the underdeveloped and the industrially developed areas has actually widened in the post-war period. A United Nations report says:

> A measure of the problem that confronts the underdeveloped countries in their attempts to narrow the difference between their own standards of living and those of the developed countries is afforded by the figures for per capita income in 1949, available for seventy countries. Twelve of the seventy countries, comprising almost one-third of the world population, disposed of only 4 per cent of the total world income and had a per capita income of under $50 a year. Forty of the countries, comprising two-thirds of the world population, disposed of only 15 per cent of its income and had an average annual per capita income of under $200. Such figures as are available for a period immediately before the war indicate that at present income is less evenly distributed among the countries of the world.

That the gap between underdeveloped and industrially developed countries has widened does not mean, however, that certain classes in the former countries have not improved their standard of living. Some comments of the Bell report on the post-war Philippines—no mention of which is made in the Rockefeller report—are important on this point:

> The basic economic problem in the Philippines is inefficient production and very low incomes. . . . Although home production has been supplemented by large imports, the standard of living of most people is lower than before the war. In Manila real wages of industrial workers are about the same or slightly higher than in 1941; but in the provinces real wages in agriculture are lower than before the war. For many agricultural workers wages are wholly inadequate, in some instances less than one peso (50 cents) a day. . . .

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> The failure to expand production and to increase productive efficiency is particularly disappointing because investment was exceptionally high and foreign-exchange receipts were exceptionally large during most of the post-liberation period. Too much of the investment went into commerce and real estate instead of the development of agriculture and industry. . . .
>
> A considerable part of the large foreign-exchange receipts were dissipated in imports of luxury and non-essential goods, in the remittance of high profits, and in the transfer of Philippine capital abroad. The opportunity to increase productive efficiency and to raise the standard of living in the Philippines in the post-war period has thus been wasted. . . .
>
> The inequalities in income in the Philippines, always large, have become even greater during the past few years. While the standard of living of the mass of people has not reached the pre-war level, the profit of business men and the incomes of large landowners have risen very considerably. Wages and farm income remain lower than the economy can afford because of the unequal bargaining power of workers and tenants on the one hand, and employers and landowners on the other.

THE Philippines experience is crucial because there the power of the United States is incomparably greater than in most other underdeveloped areas. We have large private investments in the Philippines. But the fact remains that today, five years after the end of the war, social antagonisms have become more pronounced in the Philippines than before the war. The gap between the over-all standard of living in the Philippines and in America has widened, and the same is true, of course, of the difference in living standards between social classes in the Philippines. The Rockefeller report refers to poverty, illiteracy, disease, undernourishment, and warfare as factors which must be overcome in the underdeveloped areas, but the social structure of these areas is never mentioned as a factor which might account for poverty, illiteracy, disease, and undernourishment. A recent United Nations report is far more candid and courageous on this vital consideration:

> Low national incomes in the Middle Eastern countries are aggravated by the marked inequalities which characterize their economic and social structures. The population consists largely of very small landholders or tenants whose income barely provides the necessities of life and leaves little or no surplus for investment. The same is generally true of the small but growing group of industrial workers. At the other end of the scale are large landowners, who rarely invest in anything but land, and the important merchants who do not generally invest their capital in long-term projects.

As long as feudal cliques remain in power, statements like those in the Rockefeller report that agricultural production should be increased by 20 per cent remain empty formulations. The same is true of a passage in the report on fair labor standards. The maintenance of feudal power is irreconcilable with fair labor standards. For a large part of the underdeveloped areas, therefore, the important question is: By what methods is the abolition of the feudal system to be attained? Are the gigantic upheavals attendant on the liquidation of feudalism in Asia to come about gradually, as Nehru is trying to accomplish in India and as the British Colombo Plan for Southeast Asia proposes, or will these upheavals assume the character of violent revolutions? The Rockefeller report ignores this basic problem; in fact, it fails even to mention the Colombo Plan.

WE NOW live in an era in which some of the nations for whom the Point 4 program was designed have freed themselves from colonial dependence; others are fighting for independence; still others will probably enter the struggle in the near future. It is also an era of opposition to the corrupt feudal classes which rule these areas. The decline of European colonial imperialism has already shaken the strength and undermined the influence of its long-time allies, the native feudal lords. Whatever form the political movements in these countries may assume, one thing is certain: feudal power will be broken in one country after the other. The entire trend of historical developments is against the continuance of feudal power.

The old European colonial imperialism was primarily concerned with making profits for those who had invested capital in the colonies; it was not concerned with the well-rounded development of these countries. Colonial imperialism supported the feudal lords in order to have strong allies against the native peoples. It increased the production of raw materials needed at home or which could be sold for high prices on world markets, but it prevented the development of coordinated industries in terms of the well-being of the native peoples.

Despite many high-sounding phrases, the Rockefeller report simply restates this imperialistic policy as adapted to the American economic requirements in a period of rearmament. It places the emphasis on the development of raw materials which America needs and does not today produce. It makes private investment the focal point of economic policy despite the evidence that the investment of private capital has hitherto failed to improve living standards in the underdeveloped areas. Nor does it touch on the problem of feudal power which is the decisive barrier to the development of these areas. If this report becomes the basis of American economic policy in the underdeveloped areas, America will not be a "partner in progress"—the title of the report—but a "partner in reaction," concerned with the perpetuation of a parasitic imperialism.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Japan: Has the Occupation Failed?

FAILURE IN JAPAN. By Robert B. Textor. The John Day Company. $3.

THIS is an interesting book, by a writer who has done good service as a civilian in the Occupation of Japan. It is described in an introduction by Owen Lattimore as the fruit of intimate personal experience and as a "sober but echoing call for a new democratic anti-Communist policy in Japan."

It ought, therefore, to be valuable and convincing, but I must confess that I have found it in some respects disappointing—a curious mixture of good observation and common sense with optimistic assumptions about human behavior which, I fear, have no deep foundation in reality. Mr. Textor thinks that the Occupation started successfully but has deteriorated. He considers that the American representatives in Japan have been paying lavish attention to strategy and but scant attention to democracy. Therefore American policy must change or the whole experiment will be a failure. His view, expressed in his own words, is: "We must help build the kind of daily-life democracy that Japan—and Asia—need. Only if we win democratic friends will our own strategic position become sound."

Nobody can quarrel with that as the statement of a proper attitude toward Japan, since it is probable though not axiomatic that an undemocratic state cannot be a reliable ally of the countries composing what we now call the Free World. But how, in practice, can one people build in the country of another the foundations of a new political system, a new kind of economy, and a new social outlook? That was the superhuman task envisaged by the allied powers at the end of the war and undertaken by the American government with characteristic courage and self-confidence.

Would it be surprising if such an ambitious experiment failed in many particulars? Was it to be expected that a military Occupation authority—or a civilian authority for that matter—would be able to find enough men of enough talent, wisdom, and experience to perform with success duties involved in reshaping the life of a people with a distinctive culture and a strong national tradition? Evidently not, for Mr. Textor himself shows, by plentiful and cogent examples, what blunders were made in both policy and execution—some tragic, some ludicrous, but all due as much to ordinary human fallibility as to what one might term an occupational disease of heart or brain. He writes with just indignation about those aspects of failure, and one cannot but sympathize with his disappointment, for he is so evidently earnest and sincere. But I confess that I am less disappointed than he is, because I expected less.

Indeed, I think that, for all its errors, the Occupation cannot fairly be regarded as a failure, except in so far as it attempted the impossible. Mr. Textor himself says in his book that "much good work has been done by the Occupation." The land reforms, the encouragement of trade unions, in general the erection of a democratic apparatus which is there for use if it is wanted, are conspicuous examples; and in addition to specific projects the Occupation has, in my belief, rendered a valuable service to the Japanese people by stirring up their minds and putting new ideas into their heads. Those ideas may not all "stick," but I certainly felt on a recent visit to Japan that some kind of intellectual ferment was taking place; and I, being perhaps essentially a more orthodox democrat than Mr. Textor, find this a fairly satisfactory situation. He is a missionary, while I am satisfied if I can communicate my ideas to others, and should think it undemocratic to impose them.

It is here in particular that I take issue with Mr. Textor. Among his "Six Suggested Keystones for a Positive Japan Policy" (which I recommend to readers for critical study) he includes a proposal that, once a peace treaty is signed, there should be a "watchdog commission" with wide inspection powers, to prevent—presumably by the exercise of some kind of sanctions—"the committing of official acts inimical to the fundamental reforms or inimical to a useful non-exploitative Japanese role in intra-Asian economic affairs." Having had some experience of international commissions and bearing in mind the sequels of the Treaty of Versailles, I could feel no confidence whatever in such an organ. I can easily imagine the futility of its discussions and the weakness of its conclusions.

I do not disagree with the aims set forth in the remaining five "keystones," though I fear that Mr. Textor underrates the practical difficulties in certain points of detail. For instance, it may be desirable to free Japan from excessive concentrations of economic power; but it is easier to destroy than to construct, and I doubt whether the economic basis of Japanese life is solid enough to justify the risks of experimenting, at this stage, with "sound plans" for government control, government ownership, and cooperative ownership. Who is to guarantee the soundness of such plans? Even in the United Kingdom, where we have long experience, an enlightened public, and a democratic tradition, we cannot yet be sure that our great economic experiment will succeed; and it certainly would not succeed if it were dictated by some other country. These, however, are matters of opinion, and I do not pretend to any special knowledge on this point. I do, however, emphatically disagree with the view—expressed by Ambassador Pauley and apparently approved by Mr. Textor—that "the Zaibatsu were as responsible for Japan's militarism as the militarists themselves." To my mind that statement is less than a half-truth and reveals a lamentable ignorance of the political history of modern Japan. In one or two other places I seem to detect a slightly tendentious character in Mr. Textor's words. He says, for example, that Mrs. Yoshida was a "daughter of nobility" and her father the Emperor's closest adviser, thus giving the impression that Mr. Yoshida moved only in aristocratic and highly reactionary circles. Mrs. Yoshida's father was in fact a justly distinguished statesman of very liberal views, who was regarded as dangerous by the military extremists. He narrowly

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escaped assassination at their hands more than once.

Such, however, are trifling errors, and I hope that I have not been too harsh in my other comments on this book. I like the author's idealism and I wish I could share his faith in political evangelism. But I fear that he has yet to learn *quantula sapientia*, with how little wisdom, the world is governed. By standards less exacting than those of Mr. Textor, I repeat, the Occupation has not been a failure. It has been a reasonably successful compound of good, bad, and indifferent. It is high time it should come to an end; but I think that on the whole it reflects credit upon the government and people of the United States. What country would have treated Japan better than that gigantic, generous, fallible conqueror?

GEORGE SANSOM

More Rebel Than Radical

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF FLOYD B. OLSON. By George H. Mayer. The University of Minnesota Press. $5.

PROFESSOR MAYER has made a significant contribution in presenting this study of Floyd B. Olson, Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota from 1930 to 1936. In addition to providing shrewd insights into the strengths and weaknesses of an American radical movement, especially the uneasy relations between farmers and city workers, Mr. Mayer reminds us of the explosive conditions existing in the early days of the 1930 depression. In this time of labor-management cooperation, of "democratic" capitalism which has found the answer to economic depression, of farmers thriving under price supports, and when we are assured that class conflict is only a problem of semantics or improved public relations, Professor Mayer's book serves to remind us that not so long ago all was not so smooth. Conservative Minnesota farmers burdened with mortgages contracted at the height of the post-war land boom and faced with steadily falling agricultural prices turned back foreclosing sheriffs with their shotguns and turned to the Farm Holiday Association in an effort to organize collective action. Not convinced by Secretary of Agriculture Hyde's explanation that the Russians were responsible for the low price of wheat the association sought to raise prices by withholding non-perishable commodities from the market. When undisciplined farmers persisted in shipping their produce to market, members of the association sealed off main highways with nail-studded planks and resorted to forcible tactics to discourage truck drivers. To impress the legislature with their need for feed appropriations, farmers brought their emaciated cattle to pens on the Capitol lawn. In the cities conditions were as desperate, with at least one-third of the labor force unemployed. On the Iron Range conditions were more severe, with the result that by October, 1932, 70 per cent of the workers were either totally unemployed or were working but six days a month. Given these conditions, it was no surprise that farmers and workers became disgusted with the old-line parties and demanded positive action. They turned to the Farmer-Labor Party, an offshoot of A. C. Townley's Nonpartisan League which had been founded in North Dakota in 1915. From the beginning this coalition was looked upon as merely a device for securing specific legislative objectives. At no time was there any serious effort to claim an identity of interests between the two groups.

By 1923 Floyd Olson had already established himself as a courageous defender of labor. As county attorney in a case involving the dynamiting of a contractor's house he exposed the operations of a Minneapolis association of business men, the Citizens' Alliance, dedicated to the maintenance of the open shop. Long before the La Follette committee's exposure of the nation-wide use of industrial strike-breaking agencies, Olson exposed and condemned employers' use of stool pigeons in dealing with labor. But to win nomination by the Farmer-Labor Party, Olson had to overcome an initial handicap of being almost unknown to the agrarian wing of the coalition. With the aid of indorsement by Charles A. Lindbergh he won the primary in 1924 but lost the governorship to Republican Theodore Christianson. An anti-capitalist platform combined with impressive price rises for agricultural commodities served to defeat Olson in his first major political effort. As Mayer observes, "agrarian radicalism had always been a rebellion against low prices rather than against the capitalist system." From this experience Olson learned lessons which served to guide his conduct both in future campaigns and as governor for three terms.

Concluding that voters were reluctant to accept any basic reforms, and then only under crisis conditions, Olson fairly consistently watered down the socialist doctrine of the Farmer-Labor Association. Although he frequently expressed socialist ideas, in practice his legislative programs were largely forerunners of New Deal measures—public works, conservation programs, regulation of securities, mortgage moratorium, banking legislation, and labor measures outlawing the yellow-dog contract, limiting hours of women in industry, and banning the use of injunctions in labor disputes. Fifteen months before President Roosevelt introduced his court-reorganization

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On a Certain Engagement South of Seoul

A long time, many years, we've had these wars.
When they were opened, one can scarcely say.
I was a boy in a house among sycamores

When Italy broke her peace so far away,
And that was not the beginning. The following years
Grew crowded with destruction and dismay.

When I was nineteen, once, the surprising tears
Stood in my eyes and stung me, for I saw
A soldier in a newsreel clutch his ears

To hold his face together. Those that paw
The public's bones to eat the public's heart
Said far too much, of course: the sight, so raw

And unbelievable, of people blown apart
Was enough to numb us without that bark and whine.
We grew disconsolate. Each had his chart

To mark on the kitchen wall the battle-line,
But many were out of date. The radio
Droned through the years, a faithful anodyne.

Yet the news of this slight encounter somewhere below
Seoul has stirred remembrance: we were a few,
Sprawled on the stiff grass of a small plateau,

Afraid. No one was dead. But we were new—
We did not know that probably none would die.
Slowly, then, all vision went askew.

My clothing was outlandish; earth and sky
Were metallic and horrible. We were unreal,
Strange bodies and alien minds; we could not cry

For even our eyes seemed to be made of steel;
Nor could we look at one another, for each
Was a sign of fear, and we could not conceal

The hatred for these friends. There was no speech.
We sat alone, all of us, trying to wake
Some memory of the selves beyond our reach.

That place has now been conquered. We undertake
Another campaign now, in another land,
A stranger land perhaps. And we forsake

The miseries there that we can't understand,
Just as we did before. And yet my glimpse
Of a scene on the distant field can make my hand

Tremble again. How many of us? One limps.
One cannot walk at all. Or one is all right.
But one owns this experience that crimps

Forgetfulness, especially at night.
Is this a bond? Does this make us brothers?
Or does it bring our hatred back? I might

Have known, but now I do not know. Others
May know. I know when I walk out-of-doors
I have a sorrow not wholly mine, but another's.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

scheme Olson proposed that the Supreme Court be brought into line with public opinion by increasing the number of judges.

His relations with President Roosevelt were friendly, but Olson never hesitated to attack the Administration when he was convinced it was moving too slowly. Faced with the impossibility of resolving economic problems on a state basis, he brought pressure on the New Deal to provide national legislation for agriculture, social security, and labor.

Any evaluation of Olson's administration must be tempered by the consideration of two factors—his chronic ill-health and the nature of the coalition he led. Throughout the early period in office Olson was able to keep control largely through personal magnetism and ability, but as he became more and more exhausted, the petty spoilsmen and professional politicians increasingly turned an idealistic reform party into another political machine. To insure their control as Olson's last term expired they tricked the Governor into appointing Elmer Benson as United States Senator to replace Thomas D. Schall. That Olson was "more a rebel than a radical" is as apparent as Mayer's conclusion that "the effort to relieve human misery was the most consistent policy of his political career." H. H. WILSON

Soviet Purges and Prisons

RUSSIAN PURGE AND THE EXTRACTION OF CONFESSION. By F. Beck and W. Godin (pseudonyms). Translated from the original German by Eric Mosbacher and David Porter. The Viking Press. $3.50.

UNDER TWO DICTATORS. By Margarete Buber. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Dodd, Mead and Company. $4.

ELEVEN YEARS IN SOVIET PRISON CAMPS. By Elinor Lipper. Henry Regnery Company. $3.50.

ALL three of these books are memoirs of non-Russian Communists who were caught up by the Soviet police during the great purge. Margarete Buber and her husband, Heinz Neumann, were prominent members of the German Communist Party. They were sent to Moscow by the Comintern in 1935 and worked there until Neumann was ar-

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rested in 1937 and Buber in 1938. Elinor Lipper was also a member of the German Communist Party, though not an important one. She went to Moscow, apparently of her own free will, in 1937 and was arrested within two months of her arrival. Of the two collaborators, Beck and Godin, one was a German, the other a Russian. They are not otherwise identified except as to occupations: the German was a scientist; the Russian, a historian.

Miss Buber was sentenced to five years in a labor camp as a "socially dangerous element." She was sent to Karaganda in Central Asia, where she worked mostly as a farm laborer until 1940. Then her Russian hosts handed her over to the Gestapo, and she endured five years in the Nazi concentration camp at Ravensbruck before she was liberated in 1945 by American G. I.'s. "Under Two Dictators" is her prison autobiography.

Miss Lipper was kept fourteen months in prison before a special court sentenced her to five years in a labor camp "for counter-revolutionary activity." Actually she served not five years, but eleven—most of the time in the Kolyma region. Her prison experience and her slave-camp experience were both much longer and more varied than Miss Buber's. Miss Lipper knew at first hand four slave camps—Magadan, Balagannoye, Talon, and Elgen—nine "transit camps," two prisons, several prison hospitals, and three "repatriation camps."

"Russian Purge" differs from the other two books in several ways. The collaborators explain their aims and methods in these words:

> . . . we have tried to draw a systematic picture of the purge, the sections of the population affected by it, and the part played by the NKVD in the country as a whole. We have deliberately avoided the method of personal reminiscence and chosen instead a historical, descriptive method which must inevitably result in a loss of vividness and humanity.

They follow their plan faithfully, but nevertheless there is much of the memoir about their study, since they base a large share of it on their personal experiences. Their experiences, however, were more limited in time and variety than those of Miss Buber and Miss Lipper.

These three books, then, are all additions to the steadily growing body of information about the Soviet system as it actually has operated. They are also additions to the steadily growing literature of disillusionment. Their greatest value, taken as a group, is that they constitute independent, corroborative evidence of the main patterns. The three accounts jibe on such major points as the scope of the arrests and purges, the nature of the charges, the methods of interrogation, general conditions of prison life, and the contrast between the treatment accorded to politicals—to use an old Russian term—and that given to criminals. And since they agree with many other sources on these and other major points, there can be no serious question as to the general patterns.

The Soviet regime is a government of men, not a government of law. It is a regime which has no regard for the individual *qua individual*. It has developed an almost ubiquitous system of police terrorism under whose shadow all Soviet citizens exist. The police system itself has methodically and skilfully developed the techniques of breaking the men and women who become its victims to the point where these unfortunates have no longer either a life or a will of their own. Arrests, convictions, and sentences bear no relation to guilt or innocence or degrees thereof—the system and its operators are arbitrary and amoral. The use of slave labor is an integral and indispensable element of the Soviet economy, just as police terrorism is an indispensable element of the Soviet political system. The evidence supporting these and other generalizations about broad patterns—evidence steadily building up in the literature to which these three books belong—is incontrovertible.

On the other hand, some questions may properly be raised as to matters of detail. Both Miss Buber and Miss Lipper make extensive use of quotation marks. Is one to believe that these are truly accurate quotations of remarks made and of conversations held many years before? Neither author, of course, was able to make any notes at the time. Human memory being what it is, the chances of absolute accuracy are slight. Beck and Godin quite properly warn the reader that their account of the labor camps is second-hand, that is, derived from other prisoners with whom Beck and Godin talked. There is similar hearsay evidence in the other two books, although it is not so clearly identified. These points are raised—and others might also be made—not in an attempt to discredit the witnesses but merely to warn the reader not to abandon all critical caution. The stories told by the four authors are undoubtedly true in the main. They may also be true in every detail, but this is still unproved.

It may be added that Miss Lipper's account is by far the most interesting and the most readable. It has in full measure that "vividness and humanity" which Beck and Godin deliberately avoided. Miss Buber also manages to achieve a good deal of human interest, but her style is somewhat less facile than Miss Lipper's. The latter's account has a special interest for Americans because of her comments on the reports of Kolyma made by Henry Wallace and Owen Lattimore. She does not think much of them.

WARREN B. WALSH

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People and History

THIS IS THE HOUR. A Novel about Goya. By Lion Feuchtwanger. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter and Frances Fawcett. The Viking Press. $3.95.

THE NICE AMERICAN. By Gerald Sykes. Creative Age Press. $3.

THESE two novels, so different in style, motive, and length, have one point of comparison. Both may be considered explorations of the idea of maturity. In "This Is the Hour" it is the maturity of an artist in nineteenth-century Spain, exhibited in his work if not in his life. In "The Nice American" emotional maturity is the wished-for goal of an American colonel in Algiers at the end of World War II.

Lion Feuchtwanger's lengthy fictionalization of events in the life of Francisco de Goya is the Book-of-the-Month Club selection for June. It is designed for that apparently large public that likes to buy its literature by the pound. In many respects these readers are getting their money's worth. The history of Goya's Spain, a period when immaturity was at least flamboyant, is interwoven with the progress of the painter's career, his rivalry with his predecessor, Velasquez, and the contemporary classical school of David, his growing fame, his increasing deafness and fears of going mad, the conflict in his mind between French liberalism and medieval superstition, and his conveniently on-again, off-again, historically unverified affair with the beautiful, perverse Duchess of Alba. Her perversity seems to consist primarily in sharing the inclination of her contemporaries for more than one lover at a time.

On the whole Feuchtwanger writes more about gusto than with it. The love story has that quality of adolescent daydreaming that is, I suppose, symptomatic of the historical novel. His attempts to dramatize the technique and work habits of the artist, seldom dramatic in themselves, often approach travesty of the "suddenly-an-intent-look-came-into-his-eyes-and-he-seized-a-brush" variety. It is a role for George Sanders, from the first long, devouring stare at the Duchess on to the last feverish contemplation of the bare wall where, a dying man, he intends to set down his demonic visions.

In between, without going to the sources, the reader is given the customs and intrigues of the Spanish court, the costumes and behavior of the people, a history of the Inquisition, an auto-da-fé and a public execution, and so on. These expository passages arrive at such judicious intervals that one can smell the outline. This will probably not disturb readers who have acquired a taste for competent if rather humdrum rewriting. Even they, however, are likely to be put off by the inept versification that closes, inexorably, each chapter.

"The Nice American" is at once a less ambitious and a more serious work. If anything, it suffers from an overseriousness of the modern clinical sort, which tends to regard maturity rather colorlessly as the ability to meet and solve problems. While this has its value as a diagnostic concept—the phenomenon itself, as Dr. Sullivan used to say, rarely being encountered on the analytic couch—it can hamper the artistry of a novel. It leads Gerald Sykes to pose his problem in a Prologue rather than have it emerge in the action of the story; and from time to time, in the story, action and characterization are stated rather than portrayed. Yet with these reservations this is a novel of people as well as of ideas; its picture of high-echelon life in Algiers is convincing; and that life is itself organically related to the central theme.

Colonel Childress, an engineer before the war, is the "nice American." Three women symbolize the possible directions of his life. The remembered girl of his TVA days represents the single-minded dedication to welfare from which he has been persuaded by his ambitious journalist wife into more lucrative but less socially useful work. His resistance to her growing desire for power rather than achievement has estranged them. Now, at the close of the war, stationed in the comparative tranquillity of Algiers, he is tempted to give up engineering for the arts; in his case a gift for photography in which he is encouraged by his French mistress. A meeting and partial reconciliation with his ex-wife make a deliberate choice necessary.

It is in the manner of arriving at this choice that the book achieves, I feel,

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its deepest penetration. Twice he comes to clear-cut, thoroughly rational decisions, only to find himself, in the immediate situation, reacting almost oppositely to his intentions. His inability to carry out an interior decision ruthlessly, without regard to others, is the "niceness" of the title, which is gently ironic rather than satiric. And the course he steers between the various political factions—Mohammedan, English, French, and Russian—in Algiers is an unobtrusive corollary. Significantly, he can behave more understandingly and diplomatically with all of them than he can with the reactionary Senator, his wife's uncle, who comes on a whirlwind "fact-finding" tour. This is history too, not on a panoramic but on a more human scale.

LLOYD FRANKENBERG

Philosophies Old and New

THE RISE OF SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY. By Hans Reichenbach. University of California Press. $3.75.

THE principal thesis of this book is overwhelmingly simple: More than two thousand years have witnessed the persistence of philosophy as "speculation"; the last few years, the emergence of "scientific" philosophy. Traditional speculation, vainly seeking certainty, is a body of "errors," of "pseudo-explanations" and pseudo-problems; its answers "can be explained only from psychological motives." Scientific philosophy (or logical empiricism), rejecting absolute claims, has achieved "a body of philosophical knowledge."

Now Professor Reichenbach is a man who has written with distinction in formal methodology and the philosophy of natural science. The present book contains many excellent discussions of problems in this field—for instance, of time, geometry, evolution, and predictive knowledge—and no one can deny that logical empiricism has contributed solidly to the philosophical heritage. This is the reason why it is necessary to glance, even if briefly, at the preposterous structure in which Reichenbach has incarcerated some useful analyses.

After examining several historical systems of philosophy, Reichenbach disclaims "exhaustive treatment." But he *appraises* the systems and the thinkers as if he *had* discussed them exhaustively. His method is to single out a theme that interests him, show how poorly the philosopher's analysis compares with his own, and then indict the philosophy as dominated by "extra-logical motives." Thus Descartes's pursuit of certainty represents a "desire to return to the early days of infancy, which were not troubled by doubt." Kant's emphasis on duty represents the "ethics of a [Prussian] military caste," or the bourgeois "pleasure derived from subordination and . . . servitude." Hegel's system is "the poor construction of a fanatic."

But Kant as well as Descartes, and others before and after, sought a principle of certainty. Did they one and all desire to return to the early days of infancy? And what are the psychological motives behind Professor Reichenbach's own philosophic bias? Since he does not ask the question, the following choice statement may be his implicit answer: "In the face of error we can ask only for a psychological explanation; truth calls for logical analysis." (Waiving the peculiarity of the view that error is not logically analyzable, and waiving the inadequacy of his particular psychoanalytic inquiry, it is

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astonishing that Reichenbach the logician should in practice confound questions of psychological motivation with questions of conceptual evaluation.)

Professor Reichenbach's catalogue of classical sins may impress the neophyte; it certainly will not impress anyone who sees the folly of interpreting complex conceptual structures by checklisting them as though they were weather reports. Reichenbach has a genuine gift for economy of exposition, and it is therefore the greater pity that his accounts of other men's thinking are so full of distortion. The only version by which he is able to render Plato's theory of ideas is the one that Plato himself warns us against in the "Parmenides." To Aristotle he ascribes the absurd view that the future literally causes events in the present. And Spinoza, he thinks, constructed "an ethics that disparages emotion." This last, incidentally, of the philosopher who interpreted desire as "the very essence of man"; who defined as good "anything that satisfies longing"; and who ultimately equated understanding with love.

A reader unacquainted with contemporary philosophy would believe, on reading Reichenbach, that there is only one philosophic movement today. Apart from a casual reference to "pragmatists" by way of comparison, Reichenbach does not mention a single current trend or school other than his own, or a single contemporary philosopher of another persuasion. For him there is only "the old and the new philosophy," past error and present truth. Apparently scientific thoroughness and dispassionateness do not apply to the study of philosophic method, or to the writing of contemporary history.

This book characterizes—or prescribes—philosophy as "logical analysis of all forms of human thought." Professor Reichenbach tells his readers that such a discipline requires technical knowledge of mathematics and the sciences, but he pays scant attention to the adequacy or exactness of his conception. He fails to mention the wide divergence among philosophers with respect to the nature and scope of logic. Nor does he say even approximately what is to be included in the purview of "thought." He complains that most of the principles of "speculative" philosophy are not "translatable into verifiable experiences." Yet like the great majority of his school, he hardly bothers to analyze the possible levels of verifiability or the possible modes of experience.

As a champion of scientific caution and a professed enemy of dogmatism Professor Reichenbach might have expressed some hesitation before bluntly defining "art" as "emotive expression," and before polishing off the subject with a ten-line paragraph. In his desire to endow philosophy with "cognitive" significance he might at least have asked the question whether linguistic symbols must always take the form of direct assertion in order to have cognitive value. Instead, he deplores "the intrusion of poetry into knowledge." But a theory which thus cavalierly divides vast bodies of human thought into either "poetry" or "pseudo-explanation" scarcely deserves the name of "scientific." Professor Reichenbach might also have indicated that on many of the views which he confidently sets forth—for instance, on the nature of induction and the status of causality or on the alleged "clear-cut distinction between ethics and knowledge"—there is considerable difference of opinion within his own school.

Reichenbach and the logical empiricists are not the first, nor will they be the last, school to claim the title of "scientific philosophy." Future historians of ideas may see in them, not indeed a Quest for Certainty, but a Dread of Imprecision. The best commentary on this book is contained in one of its own sentences. What it says about unobservable entities in atomic physics may be said about the data of philosophic interpretation, that they "can be described in various languages, and that there is no question of one being the true language." JUSTUS BUCHLER

Drama Note

"SEVENTEEN" (Broadhurst Theater), the musical play based on Booth Tarkington's story, bears down heavily on nostalgia for the old home town before the wars when young Americans, not to say Americans in general, were still innocent, when an automobile was a sensation, and a dollar was worth at least a dollar and a half. The material has excellent possibilities—the play might have been a homely American counterpart of "Ring Round the Moon"—but there is too much nostalgia and too little irony, and the poetic overtones it might have had are missing.

This last is partly due to the fact that Ann Crowley is miscast as Lola Pratt. She has a prosaic face to begin with, and she looks more like a contemporary glamour girl than a girl of seventeen in 1907. Kenneth Nelson, on the other hand, is very well cast as the lovesick Willie Baxter, and there are some other accomplished players and performances. Harrison Muller is particularly good as the college boy who lords it over the high-school generation, and his dance turn at the end of Act I is the best bit in the show. King Calder is very funny as the exasperated parent whose front porch is overrun by adolescents in the throes of puppy love; Frank Albertson and Doris Dalton are excellent as Willie's long-suffering parents; and Alonzo Bosan, as Mr. Genesis, does a turn in song and rhythm that is really of the period. M. M.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MOST of the people who read in their newspapers a couple of years ago that the Philadelphia Orchestra's season might be canceled because of the musicians' demand for an increase in their weekly minimum salary from $115 to $120 probably multiplied these figures by 52 and got a very wrong idea of orchestra musicians' earnings. The minimum is paid only for the number of weeks of the season; and this year, for example, the members of the Philadelphia Orchestra were paid a minimum of $120 a week for 32 weeks—a total of $3,840. Add $120 for the one-week spring tour, $90 a week for the six weeks of the 1950 Robin Hood Dell summer season, about $650 for recording sessions, and the total becomes $5,150. These, moreover, are the earnings of royalty among orchestra musicians: in Houston the minimum is $85 for 28 weeks; in Indianapolis $65 for 19 weeks.

Similarly the public which read about the threat of a strike by New York radio

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musicians recently and about the final settlement must have thought the dispute had been over the usual matters of wages and hours. These certainly were involved; but they were subsidiary to the issue of primary importance for the musicians in their negotiations with the networks—that of the recently accelerated displacement of man by the machine, of live musicians by recordings. The musicians affected are not the 235 staff men employed by the four networks on weekly salary, but the outside free-lance men hired at single-engagement rates for rehearsals and performance. These men are the outstanding players who form the orchestras on commercial musical programs like the Telephone Hour and Voice of Firestone; and they also used to provide the music required by variety, dramatic, and other script programs. Since 1948 some thirty script programs have dropped live musicians and now use music dubbed on tape from recordings of their own previous broadcasts, from the special recordings of library services, and even from standard commercial recordings;* and those which have kept live music have reduced the number of musicians to make up for higher costs of network time, actors, and stagehands. Nor is it only script programs: the Longines Symphonette program is now using repeatedly the old recordings which the orchestra made originally for one broadcast; C. B. S. last summer substituted records for the Sunday afternoon concerts of the C. B. S. Symphony, which had employed thirty outside men in addition to the thirty-five staff men; Voice of Firestone, when it had to pay $2.10 more per man in 1947, cut the orchestra from sixty-five to forty-seven men.

So with television, in which Studio One, for example, began with a live staff orchestra but was sold without live music. Television also is using films—old silent films with music dubbed in from records, old March of Time films with their musical soundtracks already in, and new films, some made here, with soundtracks which musicians here will have been paid to record, but some —*e. g.*, of operas—to be made in Europe.

By last fall the employed single-engagement musicians in New York's Local 802 had dropped from 1,000 to less than half that number; and of these many who had formerly played two or three programs a week were playing only one (half the men in the Firestone Orchestra now have only this one engagement, which makes their weekly income about $75). This resulted in an unprecedented special meeting attended by 1,000 members of the local, who not only adopted a set of proposals for the local's officials to present to the networks for the new contract, but set up a rank-and-file committee to sit in at the negotiations and directed the negotiators to report back to the members and to submit the final agreement to them for ratification (a matter of course for automobile workers but something new for members of the American Federation of Musicians).

Of the proposals for negotiation the first in order and importance was the one for limiting—not eliminating—mechanization. But on this issue the networks, in their meetings with the local's representatives, would concede nothing. Moreover, on this issue the union's president, James C. Petrillo, when he pushed the local's representatives aside and took over the negotiations himself, demanded nothing. And on this issue the agreement which averted the threatened strike—the agreement which, exercising his constitutional dictatorial powers in what he declared to be an "emergency," Mr. Petrillo signed "for" the local without membership ratification—c o n t a i n e d nothing.

The agreement did contain wage increases for staff and outside men, and a two-week vacation with pay for the staff men (but still no annual contract). But its important provision, for Mr. Petrillo, was a fee for the televising of new films, to be paid into a fund similar to the one that was set up in 1944 to receive the royalties from records. That fund was to be used to provide musicians with the employment they had lost through mechanization; and by paying for public performances by the members of some 680 small locals it has assured Mr. Petrillo the votes at the union's conventions which have maintained him in office* and in the dictatorial power that enabled him to impose on the New York musicians a contract contrary to their desires and damaging to their interests, and that would enable him to punish rebellion by taking away the local's charter.

The public has several reasons to feel concern over the episode. For one thing it must be concerned over the fact that in a nation well protected against political dictatorship there exist smaller tyrannies like those of Petrillo, and that the victims shrink from appealing for help to a Congress which they fear would use the situation as a pretext for anti-union legislation. In addition the public must be concerned over the radio networks' policy—not over the substitution of a recorded for a live opening fanfare in a script program, but over the substitution of recordings for live performances in musical programs. And

*This in addition to a use of these recordings which musicians have long objected to. Because standard commercial recordings made for home use are not protected by copyright as books are, they can be broadcast without fee and are used as program material—with profit to radio stations, advertisers, and disc jockeys, but not to the musicians who made the records.

*The small locals might outvote the dozen or so large ones even without the constitutional provision which gives each local one vote for each 100 members or majority fraction thereof, with ten votes as the maximum, so that New York's 802 with 32,000 members has no more than the ten votes of a local with 965 members.

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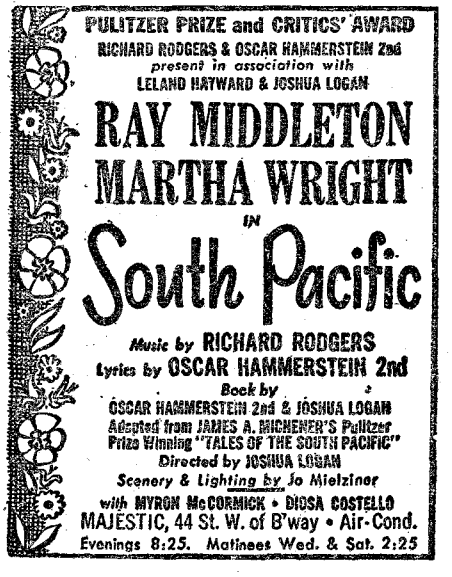
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the public must also be concerned over a possible long-range consequence of this policy: that with steadily diminishing employment possibilities fewer and fewer youngsters—among them a number of the exceptionally gifted—will study to become professional musicians, to the point where the country's cultural life may suffer from an insufficient supply of musicians for its orchestras and of highest-caliber musicians for its greatest orchestras.

And the public should act on the concern it feels—at least to the extent of writing a letter, and even further. The National Federation of Music Clubs recently called on its 500,000 members not only to write individually to local stations and networks in support of good musical programs and in protest against their cancellation, but to exercise additional pressure through the clubs, through watchdog committees, and through all other community organizations, and even to try to persuade local and national businesses to sponsor musical programs.

Films

MANNY FARBER

IN "A Day in the Sun"—the latest and glummest re-re-remake of "An American Tragedy"—there is enough gimmicky, pretentious footage to keep one's eyes glued to the screen while one's common sense and muscles beg for respite. For all its flash, occasional power, and streaks of frighteningly natural acting, this extra-earnest Paramount production is one long, slow, hyperbolic attack on ordinary American existence—an attack whose renewal in one recent film after another is obviously part of Hollywood's strategy to jerk its audience back from the ingenuous attractions of television.

We are given, for instance, the oh-so-lanquid rich; the pious, magisterial M. D.; billboards that out-Petty Petty; distant sirens playing a counterpoint of doom to ordinary phone calls; the beefy, hysterically shrill D. A.; a thick undergrowth of portable radios everywhere the camera goes; juke-box joints sprawling with drunks. And I am getting very tired of stock shot 32-B, which feeds us the myth that all the windows in depressed urban areas face out on huge, blinking neon symbols of wealth and achievement.

The script by Harry Brown is remarkably faithful to the plot of Dreiser's bleak novel: the complicated love life of a not quite bright social climber (Montgomery Clift) puts him finally in the electric chair. But Brown's dialogue is so stylish and unalive ("You seem so strange, so deep, so far away") that it appears to drift out of the walls and furniture rather than the twisted, jittery, or guppy-like mouths of Clift and his two ladies—Elizabeth Taylor and Shelley Winters. An even more troubling factor is Brown's determination to modernize a tale that is hopelessly geared to an outdated morality and a vanished social set-up. ("An American Tragedy," published in 1925, was based on the Chester Gillette case of 1906. By its contortionist avoidance of the *verboten* subject of abortion—or less drastic alternatives—and its black-white demarcation of the worlds of luxury and drudgery, this "modern" version cuts the ground from under its own feet.)

But Producer-Director George Stevens turned Brown's arty, static nonsense into something almost as visually interesting and emotionally complex as "Sunset Boulevard" or "The Asphalt Jungle"—one more key example of Hollywood's recent desperate commitment to misanthropic expression via elegant, controlled, mismated power effects. Ordinarily a soft-hearted poetic realist, Stevens is particularly good at getting natural performances out of his actors and at putting across the gauzy, sentimental *Gestalt* of a popular song, a kiss, an important dance, a ritualized seduction. Here he has blown such elements larger than life—building them into slow, parabolic choreographies of action and camera movement in which you are more dazzled by the incredible control and purposefulness than repulsed by the schmalz of the whole thing. The Clift-Taylor kiss—repeated in three double exposures—is a huge, intimate, extended business that practically hammers an erotic nail into your skull. It is preceded by Taylor's curious Tin Pan Alley line: "Tell Mama—tell Mama all!"

Stevens squeezes so much of their "real" personalities out of his actors that the story is congested with discordances. Most of the honors go to Miss Winters, who at long last gets to show that she can do a Mildred—just like Bette Davis; but a far more complex one-man show is that of the non-aging late adolescent, Montgomery Clift. To some spectators his performance expresses the entire catalogue of Greenwich Village effeminacy—slim, disdainful, active shoulders; the withdrawals, silent hatreds, petty aversions; the aloof, offhand voice strained to the breaking point. To others he is a sensitive personification of all those who knock themselves out against the brick wall of success. Clift can stare at a Packard convertible or slump down on his spine with fatigue and by simply not acting make you aware of every dejected, mumbling success-seeker on a big city street. Finally, for the more perceptive he is a childish charade on all the fashionably tough, capable outcasts who clutter up "hard-boiled" fiction: cigarette dangling from mouth, billiard cue carelessly angled behind his back, Clift makes a four-cushion shot look preposterously phony.

The exploitation of a talent like this goes far to prove that ace directors no longer make movies as much as tight-knit, multi-faceted Freud-Marx epics which hold attention but discourage understanding in a way that justifies Winchell's name for their makers—"cinemagicians."

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LLOYD FRANKENBERG is the author of "Pleasure Dome: On Reading Modern Poetry."

JUSTUS BUCHLER, assistant professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of "Toward a General Theory of Human Judgment," to be published in the fall.

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Letters to the Editors

Another Englewood?

Dear Sirs: Those who read the article called Our Town in Turmoil in *The Nation* of June 16 will be interested in the following log of events in Port Washington, a commuter community on Long Island:

On February 5, 1951, Lucille Cardin Crain, publisher of the *Educational Reviewer,* which is sponsored by the Conference on American Small Business Organizations and widely ballyhooed by Fulton Lewis, Jr., spoke on the subject Education is Everybody's Business at the invitation of the Port Washington Educational Association. Citing passages from various "objectionable" textbooks, Mrs. Crain directed her principal criticism at passages which she said implied approval of the "collectivist" philosophy. Neither Mrs. Crain's background nor that of the *Educational Reviewer* was known when she was invited to speak.

The February 9 issue of the *Port Washington News* carried a story with the headline: "Rap Speaker in Turbulent E. A. Meeting," in which a local resident took exception to Mrs. Crain's speech in these terms: "The most disturbing thing to me was the constant equating of communism with anyone who suggests a change in our social or economic orders. . . . As a matter of fact, Mrs. Crain observed that anyone who agreed with President Roosevelt and his New Deal was a collectivist and hence a Communist."

The February 16 issue of the same paper carried a number of letters defending the position taken by Mrs. Crain. This same issue also carried a full page ad, signed by thirty-nine residents, defending Mrs. Crain. Among the signers was Dr. Lewis Haney, one of the sponsors of the *Educational Reviewer* and financial columnist for the Hearst press. The signers of the statement all seemed prepared to vouch for Mrs. Crain as an educational expert well-qualified to say what should and should not appear in school textbooks.

On February 23 another group of residents paid for the publication in the Port Washington *News* of an ad captioned: "They Sow Distrust." The ad was a reprint of a statement from *The Nation's Schools* of January, 1951, which listed Lucille Cardin Crain, the *Educational Reviewer,* and the Conference on American Small Business Organizations as among the organizations currently sowing distrust of the public-school system.

On March 5 Ted Kirkpatrick, managing editor of *Counter-Attack,* spoke in the Senior High School under the sponsorship of the Port Washington Educational Association and also of the Immaculate Conception Post 687 of the Catholic War Veterans. Mr. Kirkpatrick defined communism as "a disease of intellectuals." In the question period he was asked, "Has communism infiltrated any particular religious group?" He replied, "Yes . . . the greatest infiltration has been in Protestant denominations."

I wish the Public Education Association or the National Education Association would assess the qualifications of Mrs. Crain and Mr. Kirkpatrick as educational experts and examine their competence to pass on the merits of school textbooks. Port Washington needs to be included, therefore, along with Englewood, Scarsdale, and Pasadena as among the communities that have been given "the treatment" prescribed by those who would guard democracy's schools by attacking intellectualism and by setting themselves up as censors of school texts.

PORT WASHINGTON RESIDENT

Is Fair Trade Fair . . .

Dear Sirs: Your editorial in the May 19 issue and Carey McWilliams' article How Free Is Fair Trade? are so full of half-truths that I should like to take this opportunity to set the facts straight. In the first place, the fair-trade laws do not really restrict competition; they merely give the manufacturer the right to set the retail price of his product. Manufacturers have always set the price for the jobber or wholesaler. Secondly, under the fair-trade laws the retailer and his employees enjoy a decent standard of living, a point which should be included in an impartial study of the fair-trade laws.

Now that the Supreme Court has killed these laws, some independent retailers will be forced to close shop and monopoly will increase. At the same time, the consumer has gained very little in the price war because the number of articles reduced in price has been small. The price war was not "a refreshing rain" but a cheap advertising stunt.

However, I do agree that the consumer should have some protection when fair-trade laws are abused. In any new fair-trade legislation provision should be made for a commission, to be composed of manufacturers, retailers, and consumers, which would have the power to review any fair-trade agreement. To have no fair-trade law at all would lead to chaos in retailing.

SEYMOUR ZELMANOFF

Philadelphia

. . . or Unfair?

In reply to Mr. Zelmanoff's letter I would merely repeat certain points made in the second article in the series on fair trade (issue of June 2): fair-trade laws have a tendency to raise retail prices and maintain them at artificially high levels; if retail margins are sufficiently attractive, more outlets will be opened, and the demand will then arise for state licensing or control measures to limit the number of such outlets; at the same time "fence jumping" will increase, and supermarkets will soon be selling drugs as well as groceries. It may be that consumer representation on a commission of the type proposed could protect the public against exorbitant prices, but the general pressures on the independent retailer would still operate. In the long run, it is highly debatable whether fair-trade laws or similar devices can offset these pressures.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Peace-Treaty Plea

Dear Sirs: Readers of Hessell Tiltman's article Japan's Peace Treaty (*The Nation,* June 2) may be interested to know that the Fellowship of Reconciliation has just made available a translation of the memorandum presented to Mr. John Foster Dulles in Tokyo, on February 6, 1951, by women members of the Japanese Parliament.

These women believe that there should be no peace treaty until all the nations with which Japan was at war, including the Soviet Union and Communist China, are ready to sign it.

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Meanwhile, they want the present occupation to end, and want Japan to remain permanently disarmed—as the Constitution provides—and free of foreign military control.

Single copies of "Let Us Keep Our Constitution and Our Honor" can be obtained free of charge by writing to The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.

New York A. J. MUSTE

Redistricting Called For

Dear Sirs: Your editorial America's Rotten Boroughs in the issue of June 9 makes it plain that our national House of Representatives is not truly representative. But a little research would show that the situation is even worse in state legislatures. Here in Connecticut rural districts with a population of less than one thousand have the same representation in the legislature as the cities of Hartford, New Haven, and Bridgeport.

CHARLES A. DUNHAM

Hartford, Conn.

Repeal the McCarran Act!

Dear Sirs: May we call the attention of your readers to the fact that Representative Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois has introduced a bill (H. R. 3118) which provides for repeal of the un-American McCarran act.

The National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act was organized in January for the express purpose of initiating a repeal campaign throughout the country. Members of the planning committee include Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Mrs. Welthy Honsinger Fisher, Professor E. Franklin Frazier, Rabbi Leo Jung, Professor Robert S. Lynd, Professor Arthur L. Swift, Jr., and Dean John B. Thompson.

We would like to urge your readers to support the repeal campaign by writing their Congressmen urging support of H. R. 3118; sending contributions for the repeal campaign to the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, 2 Stone Street, New York 4, N. Y.; and giving volunteer time.

New York OLIVE O. VAN HORN

CORRECTION: Englewood correspondents have sent in the following corrections on the article Our Town in Turmoil, which appeared in the June 16 issue: (1) The Negro minister referred to as an ally of the Anti-Communist League never actually gave permission for the use of his name and later informed the local press to that effect. (2) The chairman of the tumultuous meeting of October 17 was eighty-two, not seventy-two, years of age. (3) The remark of Cartwright, "Before I get through there will be fighting . . .," was not made in court but at a committee meeting.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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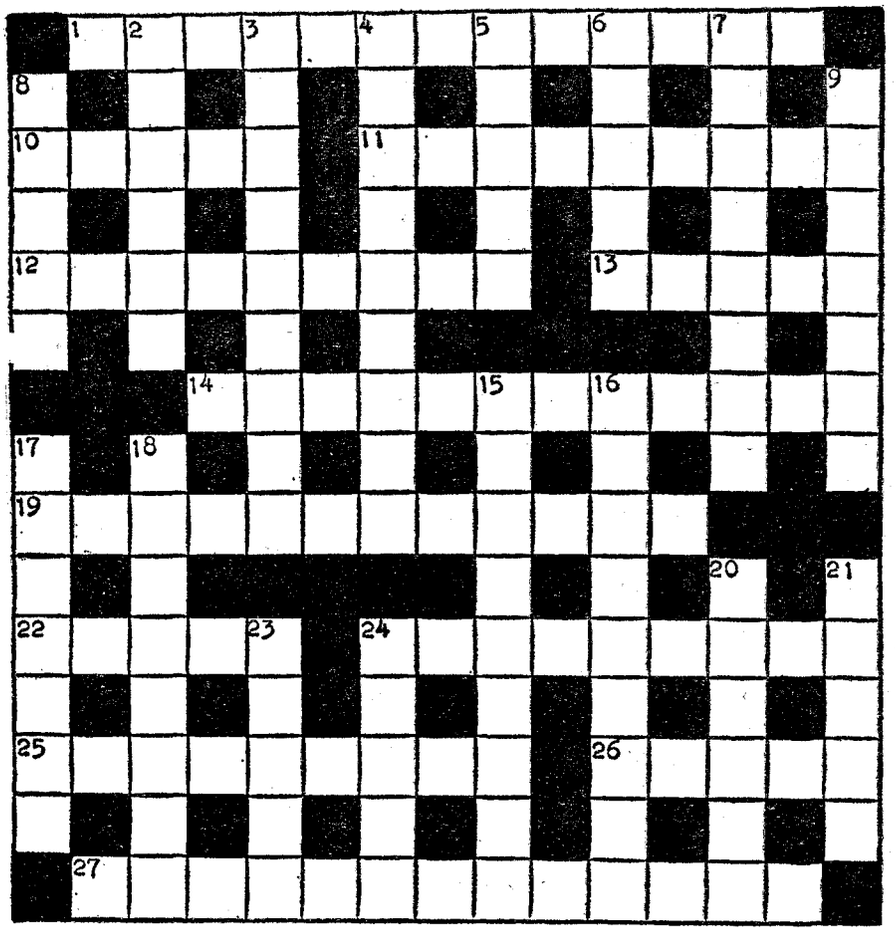
Crossword Puzzle No. 419

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It isn't its stars that make it carry weight in the Air Force! (13)
10 The part of the generator that governs a type of 21. (5)
11 A nice, pure sort of fun-lover. (9)
12 B. C. and A. D.? (9)
13 You might find the upper regions there. (5)
14 The "father" of 17 wins the election district, it seems. (12)
19 Proving that chains are attached even to freedom? (7, 5)
22 This took place in the seventies. (5)
24 Officially, Perry, for example; unofficially, Vanderbilt. (9)
25 Alien. (9)
26 A well-known church miser. (5)
27 Briefly, you could find it by looking at the clue to 12. (13)

DOWN

2 Speaker; alternatively, a prominent point he makes. (6)
3 A crew might be responsible for it. (5, 4)
4 Literally means a coming up. (9)
5 Places for landed Scotch proprietors, left without a penny. (5)
6 The fire usually dies down at this period. (5)
7 Carry too much weight? (8)
8 Strained as a past example! (5)
9 When behavior doesn't come under any set rule? (7)
15 Thumb prints, dog-ears, or just marginal notes? (9)
16 Something with a message might be set to carry weight. (9)
17 Sad lad of 14's? (4, 3)
18 Proved very disagreeable. (8)
20 The general idea of a pin, perhaps. (6)
21 Its feet don't always match when it's free. (5)
23 A part of the harness to copy. (5)
24 Prospective material for gold bars? (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 418

ACROSS:—1 JUST IN CASE; 6 OBOE; 10 CLANGOR; 11 CROSSES; 12 RATIONAL NUMBER; 14 BARONESS; 15 UNSEEN; 16 ICEBOX; 18 PARTICLE; 22 SPANISH CAPRICE; 24 FLUTING; 25 DEAD-EYE; 27 ESCAPEMENT.

DOWN:—1 JACK RABBIT; 2 SPATTER; 3 INGROWN TOENAIL; 4 CARCASS; 5 SECOND; 7 BESIEGE; 8 and 26 EAST SIDE; 9 COMMUNITY PLATE; 13 ANTECEDENT; 17 EXPOUND; 19 ARCADIA; 20 CHINESE; 21 USAGES; 23 EFTS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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